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Official Edition

THE NEW COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By John Clark Ridpath, LL. D.

Author of Ridpath's History of the World

Volume IV

RUINS OF THE OLD CHURCH AT JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA.

INCLUDING the traditions and speculations of the pre-Columbian voyagers; the discovery and settlement of the New Continent; its development under colonial government and the establishment and progress of the Republic.

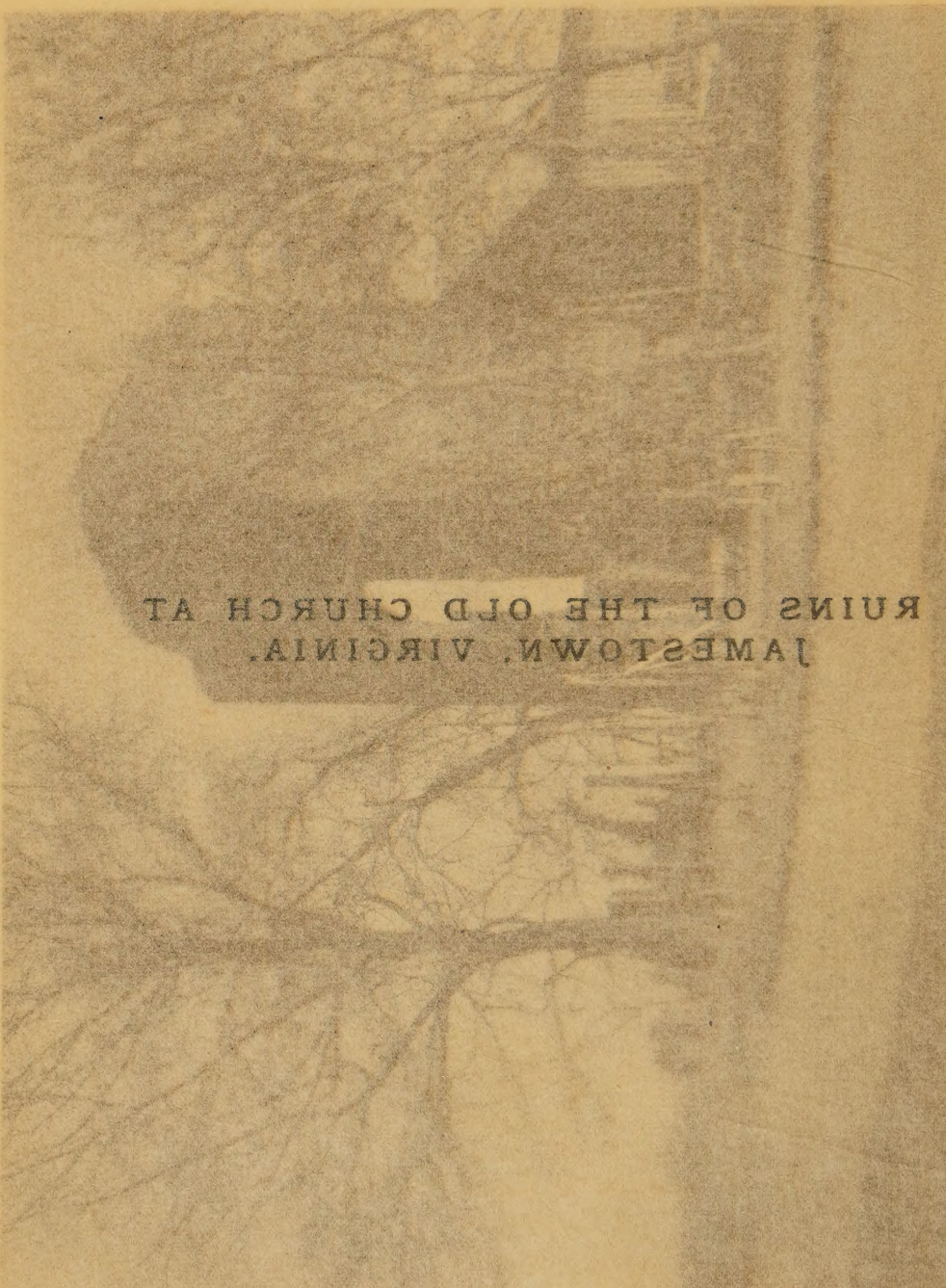
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EDWARD T. KELLY COMPANY
CHICAGO

THE JONES BROTHERS PUBLISHING CO., CINCINNATI, O.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

NEW YORK TO THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The acquisition of New York was a long step toward the future unity and freedom of America. As the colonists ceased to fear one another as enemies and rivals, they became staunch friends; until, by the era of the Revolution, they were ready for that supreme effort which made them one mighty nation.

Colonel Nicholls, according to his appointment, now became the first of the English royal governors of New York, and he proved to be one of the best. He carefully served the interests of the people over whom he had been placed. In his letters to the Duke of York he urged him to refrain from irritating the colonies with burdensome impositions, as they were in no condition to meet them without great sacrifices of personal comfort. And yet all the writers of that period unite in describing the Dutch metropolis as a handsome and well-built town. It is said that the meanest house in New Amsterdam was worth no less than \$500 (\$1500 to \$2000 now), while a number of mansions were rated into the thousands. Some of the colonists had been persons of affluence and distinction in the old country, and these brought their culture with them to America. Their homes were

1664
et seq.

New York
the key of
Amer-
ican arch

Governor
Nicholls

New
Amster-
dam's
wealth

1664
et seq.Social
amalgama-
tion

adorned with some of the best examples of Dutch art of that period, while rich tapestries and fine table services were not uncommon among the better classes. The British officers who came over with Colonel Nicholls were freely admitted to the association of the best families in New Amsterdam; and this association brought the opposing races closer together, created a mutual respect, and in the end was the means of cementing them into one homogenous people.

Dutch
generally
remain

Less than half of the Dutch population returned to Holland. The larger part remained and took the oath of allegiance to England, which they faithfully observed. The total population is not known with accuracy; but it is estimated that the residents of New Amsterdam numbered about 3000 exclusive of slaves and serving-people,—perhaps 5000 altogether.

Immi-
gration
fostered

The loss from Dutch emigration was made good by English accessions. To stimulate immigration, the Duke of York published what he termed “conditions for plantations,” among which were that the people might choose their own ministers and fix their salaries. This was meant especially as a lure to the New-Englanders, whose religious observances were the backbone of their society. The various inducements offered by the Duke, and Nicholls’ liberal administration, brought large accessions to the population throughout the province.

Among the Dutch who remained was the venerable Stuyvesant. Until his death in August

1682, he continued to manifest a profound interest in the welfare of his adopted people; and his descendants remained prominent in the public and social affairs of New York throughout the succeeding century. His farm of sixty-two acres was north of the city limits, beyond which stretched woodland and swamps to the little Dutch village of Haarlem. His mansion, a stately example of Dutch architecture, with fine grounds employing some fifty negro slaves, stood near the present Eighth Street; it remained a historic landmark for over a century, but was destroyed by fire in 1777, during the British occupancy. A pear-tree which Stuyvesant brought from Holland in 1647 remained at the corner of Thirteenth Street and Third Avenue for more than two centuries, being removed in 1867, and bore fruit annually during the entire period.

1664
et seq.

Stuyve-
sant
and his
estate

One of Nicholls' first acts was to attempt arranging the vexatious boundary disputes with Massachusetts and Connecticut. The latter's Long Island claim was not allowed, and the whole island was attached to New York; but on the mainland both Massachusetts and New York felt that Connecticut received more than her share. This led to renewed controversy, with much bitterness and open threats of war; and the matter was never finally disposed of except as a sulky submission to fate, which local pride still resents.

Connec-
ticut
bound-
aries

To reconcile the two races, Nicholls made all laws and public measures apply uniformly to both. Practical domestic self-government was confirmed

"The
Duke's
Laws"

by erecting a court of assizes composed of the governor, the Council, and the justices of the peace, invested with supreme legislative, judicial, and executive power. Trial by jury of one's peers was also made universal. These measures were highly appreciated by the Dutchmen. They were visible evidences of the genuine liberty and good government which the New-Englanders had previously enjoyed, and the lack of which had made them apathetic toward the change.

The court at once applied itself to arrange a code that should modify the existent customs only enough to make them conform to English jurisprudence. Among the measures were a number that exhibited the influence of the New England settlements on Long Island; for instance, traveling on Sunday was forbidden. Surgeons, physicians, and midwives were strictly prohibited from "presuming to exercise or put forth any act contrary to the known approved rules of art."

Good
treat-
ment of
Indians

The Indians were still numerous, but peace had prevailed between them and the colonists during Stuyvesant's entire administration. His policy of kindness and justice was continued, and even amplified, by Nicholls. He put an end to disputes in regard to ownership of lands, and the frequent sales of the same tracts to different persons, by a decree that no purchase of an Indian title should be valid unless licensed by the governor and executed in his presence. The Indians were made to understand the nature of the transaction, and its official character satisfied them as

to its rectitude. A permanent peace was established on the basis of reciprocity of interest. The Indians depended on the white race for articles now become necessities; and the colonists in turn appreciated the benefits from the Indians as hunters and trappers, whence they derived nearly all their profits in the fur trade, one of the principal bases of their prosperity.

1664-5

Amicable
Indian
relations

In 1665 the city of New York was incorporated, with a mayor, alderman, and sheriff; and English was made the official language. The loyalty of the Dutch was put to a severe test the following year. Charles had at last succeeded in provoking a war with Holland, and it was rumored and believed that the famous Admiral De Ruyter was on the way to America with a powerful fleet. Nicholls made extensive preparations for defense, and levied a general tax; but his discretion and conciliatory course made the Dutch accept this new situation and pay their share without a murmur, while many of them enlisted on their conqueror's side. Their loyalty was not put to this supreme test, however, as the rumor proved unfounded.

New
York
made an
English
city

During these events, the Governor summoned an assembly of English and Dutch deputies from the towns on Long Island, to adjust their boundaries; and they took the occasion to present a memorial to the Duke of York, acknowledging their allegiance to him, and pledging themselves to defend his rights and obey cheerfully all laws enacted under his authority.

Dutch
loyal to
England

1664-8 As the colonists had little shipping, they had depended mainly upon Holland and England for their commerce; the exchange of their products for foreign comforts and luxuries had created a large and profitable trade, in which many ships were engaged. The war suddenly ended this and threw the whole colony into extreme distress. The rich cargoes of furs and other valuables rotted in storage, while the people could not procure those comforts which use had rendered essential. Another hardship arose from the lack of cash to pay their assessments. The situation was relieved by the generosity of the Governor, who drew on his large private fortune for the greater part of the needed funds. It straitened him, but it saved the colony and secured the lasting devotion of the people.

End of
war
produces
financial
straits

Peace was restored by the treaty of Breda in 1667, and New York was formally ceded to England in exchange for her South American colony of Surinam, since known as Dutch Guiana, which had been captured by the Dutch during the conflict. Immediately afterward Nicholls asked permission to resign, on account of his failing health and the serious inroads on his personal fortune. After some delay the request was granted; but at the earnest solicitation of the Duke he remained until the arrival of his successor, Colonel Francis Lovelace, with whom he made a journey through the province, introducing him to the principal citizens and acquainting him with the situation. Nicholls sailed for England on August 25, 1668,

Nicholls
resigns



View of AMSTERDAM from the Harbor. The city is situated on the banks of the Amstel river, and is one of the most important cities in Europe. The harbor is one of the largest in the world, and is the center of the shipping trade. The city is famous for its canals, bridges, and windmills. The harbor is a great source of wealth and commerce for the city.

NEW AMSTERDAM JUST AFTER IT BECAME NEW YORK.

after a notable dinner tendered to him by the leading citizens. He was escorted to the ship by the largest procession that had ever been seen in New York, and took his departure amid the sincere regrets of a people among whom he had come as a conqueror only a few years before. He remained in the Duke's service, and in 1672 was killed in a naval engagement with De Ruyter.

1668-70

Regrets
for
Nicholls

Lovelace was a colonel in the army, of quiet and affable disposition; but with hardly the mental force for so important a charge. Like Stuyvesant, he had a low estimate of the common people, and declared that "the method of keeping the people in order is severity, and laying such taxes as may give them opportunity for no thought but how to discharge them." He acted on both principles, and speedily rendered himself and the English government most unpopular. The Swedish settlers along the Delaware openly rebelled; but their rising was soon suppressed without bloodshed. The leader, a Swede named Coningsmark, was sold as a slave to Barbadoes, where he soon perished under the hardships inflicted upon him. But the change from Nicholls' liberality to Lovelace's tyranny was more than the people could endure. The inhabitants of Long Island refused to pay their assessments unless they were allowed representation,—that burning question which cropped out every little while until it produced the explosion of the great Revolution. Lovelace burned their petitions, and forced the islanders to pay the tax by the strong arm of the law.

Lovelace
a small
martinet

1672 In 1672 Charles II. provoked another war with Holland, in spite of the fact that the treaty of Breda made only four years previously was still in force, allying him with the Dutch and Swedes to oppose Louis XIV. of France. By the treaty of Dover in 1670 Charles sold himself to Louis for a huge annual bribe; and two years later carried out the first orders under the bargain, by ordering a treacherous assault upon a richly laden Dutch fleet from Smyrna in March. The English ships were beaten off, and Charles immediately declared war against his allies.

Charles II. as under-study to Louis XIV.

Effects in New York The results of the ensuing contest, inglorious in conduct as in cause, were temporarily disastrous to British interests in America. Lovelace had disgusted the Dutch inhabitants of New York with the English government, and made them hope for the restoration of Dutch sovereignty. This feeling was intensified, and even the English alienated, by the Duke of York's profession of the Catholic faith, announced about that time. The Dutch and the New England Puritans alike regarded the heirship of an avowed Catholic to the English throne with apprehension. Many Dutch New-Yorkers thought of returning to Holland. But the sacrifice was severe, and their attachment to their new homes had become great. They knew very well that they could find no such liberty in Europe as Nicholls had given them here. When about to embark, they received an offer from the proprietaries of Carolina to locate there; they readily accepted, soon became a prosperous and

Effects in New York

happy community, blended with other settlers, and their blood is part of the American strain in Carolina. Other companies of dissatisfied Dutch settled about the same time in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

1672

Dutch go
South

During the summer of 1672 the Dutch sent a squadron under Admiral Evertsen to prey upon the commerce of the colonies. It appeared first on the Virginia coast, where it spread terror among the inhabitants. Proceeding northward to the Delaware, it found a friendly feeling among the people, largely Dutch and Swedes, and lately insurgents against the oppressions of Lovelace. They informed the Dutch admiral that the New York defenses were in no condition to resist an attack, and that a large part of the inhabitants were disaffected and would assist in the reduction of the place.

Dutch
fleet off
the Dela-
ware

The Dutch fleet instantly headed thither before its approach could be noised abroad; and the English did not suspect its coming until its black hulls were seen in the lower bay. Lovelace was in another part of the province, and had left the command to a personal favorite, Colonel John Manning. The vessels cast anchor directly in front of the fort with their broadsides bearing on it, and sent a dispatch ashore with a peremptory summons to surrender. The English inhabitants had hastily made such preparations as they could, and were anxious to fight; but Manning—colonelcies were for sale outright long after those days—was overcome by fear. He struck his flag as

Over-
awes
New
YorkMan-
ning's
cowardly
surren-
der

1672

soon as the summons was received, and threatened to shoot any person who dared to resist.

Dutch
reoccupy
New
York

The Dutch colonists went into transports of joy, while the English were treated with the same consideration as the Dutch had been of old. All citizens were guaranteed their rights and possessions, and placed on the footing they had occupied before the surrender. Deputies were dispatched to the remoter districts to take possession of the public property, and administer the oath of allegiance to the States-General. The Dutch dominion was restored throughout the province even more suddenly than it had been overthrown eight years before.

Manning
finally
broken

Manning returned to England, and explained his action to the King and the Duke of York. Charles turned to the Duke and remarked, "Brother, the ground could not be maintained with so few men." This acknowledgment prevented any prosecution in England; but when the next year, after the restoration of New York to the English, Manning returned with Andros, he was court-martialed for treachery and cowardice, and sentenced, "though he deserved death," to have his sword broken over his head in public, and be incapable of any public trust thereafter. He retired to his plantation on Manning's (now Blackwell's) Island, and continued to reside there until his death. Lovelace disappeared from public view till resurrected by Queen Anne thirty-six years later. His one commendable action in New York was to found a settlement, which he named

Hurley, for his native town in England; it is now in Ulster County.

1674-8

Early in the spring of 1674 news was received of the peace concluded at London, and the restoration of New York to the English, each power restoring whatever territory it had acquired by conquest during the war. Charles had acquired nothing, but the struggle was still on with France, and Holland was glad to remove England's hostility. The reinstatement of Dutch sovereignty had been a great joy to numbers of old Dutch families; and many more now followed their fellows to Carolina and other southern colonies, to escape the expected revenge of English officials. They carried with them their slaves, their wealth, and their culture, all of which had an influence in shaping future conditions in the Southland. But this departure was more like an expansion than a depletion of New York; for when these Dutch families in after years had established great plantations and vast productive interests, they and their descendants brought their invaluable commerce to New York, and helped to build up the great American metropolis on Manhattan Island.

New
York re-
stored to
England

Re-emi-
gration
of Dutch

In 1678 a reasonably accurate census of the city showed a population of 3430 persons; less than at a somewhat earlier date, but it had become an important seaport, with a large domestic and foreign trade. Outside the city, there were twenty-four towns, villages, and parishes in the province. It is reasonable to suppose (we have no records

Colonial
develop-
ment

1678
et seq.

Colony
and city,
1678-
1783

for a basis) that these numbered at least one hundred persons each, and the entire province contained about 6000 people. The New England colonies at the same date had fully 120,000, and Boston remained larger than New York for more than a century thereafter. During the Revolution the two places were nearly equal in population, but after that era New York gained rapidly over her eastern neighbor. Albany had long been important for its trade with the Indians; but it was a frontier trading-post, with no great number of permanent inhabitants. There was another post and fort at Schenectady; a dangerous location, as subsequent events will show, pushed too far out in a mass of sulking savagery.

Early
com-
merce of
New
York

Although the commerce of New York was quite large, the number of owned vessels was small. Their merchant navy consisted of three ships, eight sloops, and seven boats, the latter propelled by oars as well as sails. There were also about fifteen foreign vessels that sailed thither with some degree of regularity, importing English manufactures to about \$125,000 annually and carrying away products in all probability of considerably greater value. Other nations beside England also imported goods; especially Holland, which was naturally favored by the Dutch inhabitants, and gained much trade from the others by underselling the English. Among the exports at this time are mentioned lumber, peltries, tobacco, beef, peas, and 60,000 bushels of wheat. The New York tobacco was considered equal in quality to the

finest product of Virginia and Maryland. Agriculture was the chief source of wealth aside from the fur trade, and the planters were the men of means and consequence. The largest traders and importers could not estimate their capital above \$25,000. A merchant with \$2500 invested in his business was accounted a rich man; as was a planter with \$1000 or \$1200 in cash, or movable property that he could turn into cash,—for back of his ready capital were his plantation, his equipment, and his slaves. Money was little needed: not until nearly two centuries did it become the one essential thing to measure wealth by. The combined value of all the estates in the province was less than a million dollars. There were no beggars in the province: they would have starved, as no one would give where every one might work.

1678
et seq.

Financial
stand-
ings

The Duke of York maintained a chaplain in New York; the only regular endowment of the Church of England in the province, though there were about twenty churches or meeting-houses. All the districts were liable by law for church rates, but the provision was not enforced. The salaries and emoluments of ministers varied from \$200 to \$350 a year, plus a house and garden. The Presbyterians and Independents, the most numerous and substantial element of population, are said to have been the only sects that supported their churches and ministers with regularity.

Religious
con-
ditions

The military force of the province amounted to about 2000 men, including some 140 horsemen and a few artillerists. Two regular companies

1674-86

Immense
growth
under
English
rule

were maintained, at Albany and New York; the remainder were active militia or minute-men, to be called into service at a moment's notice. By 1686 the force had increased to 4000 foot, 300 horse, and a company of heavy dragoons. The artillery, however, had not much increased, and this arm of the service was weak. In the same few years the population almost doubled—a remarkable fact considering that the Delaware territory had been largely assigned to Maryland and Pennsylvania; while the merchant marine increased to ten strongly built three-masted vessels, often carrying guns and serving as vessels of war.

The
Duke's
new
patent

Immediately upon the resumption of British authority in 1674, the Duke of York obtained from the King a new patent for his New York and New England possessions; fully as explicit as the former, but without the extraordinary powers and privileges of the proprietaries of Carolina and Maryland. The Duke ruled his American empire in the name of the King: he was evidently looking forward to becoming such himself, and limited himself in powers as a subject to what he would be willing to grant as a sovereign after the merger. He was to govern "by such ordinances as he or his assigns should establish, and to administer justice according to the laws of England, with the right of appeal to the King in Council." All persons were prohibited from trading thither without his permission; but the colonists could import, though only on paying the legal duties.



SEAL OF NEW YORK CITY, 1696.



GREAT SEAL OF NEW YORK PROVINCE,
1670-3, 1674-87.

Under this charter he governed his American possessions until he ascended the throne in 1685. It was an era of contention between the people and the proprietary, but there were no serious popular outbreaks.

1674-85

Edmund Andros was the Duke's first appointee as governor of New York: Lovelace had proved his incapacity. Andros was a tried soldier of the Continental wars, ex-major of Rupert's dragoons, inherited court favor from his father, and earned it by consistent loyalty. The Duke's patent embraced the right to control the New England as well as New York militia; and one of Andros' earliest acts was to notify Governor Winthrop of Connecticut that he would set out immediately to assist in restoring order in that part of his Royal Highness' territory. The occasion of this declaration was the beginning of King Philip's War in 1675. He wrote to Winthrop that he was "very much troubled at the Christians' misfortunes and sad disasters in those parts, being so overpowered by such heathen."

Sir
Edmund
AndrosAttempts
to con-
trol Con-
necticut
militia

The Connecticut people did not object to his sympathy, but had no intention of being ruled by the governor of New York. Winthrop therefore convened the General Assembly, which decided to resist by force the invasion of their chartered rights. A certain Captain Bull was selected to perform this duty. The Captain marched to Saybrook at the head of one hundred well-armed men; and when Andros landed, he was not even permitted to read the Duke's patent to the crowd of

Connec-
ticut
resists

1675-81

Andros
retires
from Con-
necticut

people whose curiosity had brought them to the spot. Captain Bull informed the governor that they would not only dispense with that ceremony, but would be pleased to have him depart. Andros, being a man of sense, accepted the inevitable and re-embarked for New York. He evidently took the view so many English magnates did before and during the Revolution, derived from venal English politics, that the way to manage the colonies was to buy up the leaders; he said afterward that "this Captain Bull is a bull whose horns should be tipped with silver."

Efforts to
control
New
Jersey

Andros was a man of energy, though lacking in many of the qualities essential to success in a civil capacity. His rebuff in Connecticut by no means cooled his ardor for the execution of his royal master's purposes; accordingly, soon after his return, he made an effort to bring New Jersey once more under the jurisdiction of New York. This attempt brought him in conflict with Lady Carteret, the widow of Sir George, whose complaint to the English court charged him with unwarrantable interference in the local affairs of New Jersey. For this and other offenses attributed to him about the same time, Andros was required to report in England to answer for his conduct. He seems, however, to have experienced no trouble in setting himself right with the King and the Duke of York; for in addition to knighthood, which had been conferred on him several years before, he was now made a gentleman of the King's bedchamber. The trouble with Lady

Carteret was soon disposed of by the sale of East Jersey to William Penn.

1674-8

During his entire administration in New York, Andros seems to have labored earnestly for the best interests of his superiors, including as large a measure of good for the people as his instructions would permit. It was necessary, however, to raise money for public expenses, and defense in case of war; this meant taxation, which meant opposition from the colonists—not to the tax, but to having no voice in its disposition. The Governor had been admonished to disturb no man's estate except by due process of law, and to execute justice in the King's name according to the forms prescribed by his predecessors and the instructions of his superiors. The Duke had likewise recommended to him very particularly to exercise "justice and humanity" in all his transactions with the people. But it was now necessary to raise a revenue; and the Duke, in spite of his amicable instructions, was the first to suggest arbitrary measures.

Taxation
without
repre-
sentation
opposed

A great variety of customs rates had been imposed on the various classes; these had expired, and the grant had not been renewed. An arbitrary and unpopular official named Dyer was collector, and soon aroused the bitterest resentment. At last, toward the end of Andros' administration, Dyer was accused of high treason for collecting taxes without authority of law. This was a new method of expressing popular indignation. The local magistrates, who were in cordial sympathy

Collector
im-
peached

1681-2

with the vexed populace, appointed a special court to try him on this charge. But the confinement of the collector in jail put a temporary stop to his activity, and as no duties were collected, the public resentment had time to cool.

Failure
of prose-
cution
against
collector

When the trial came up, Dyer amazed his judges by declaring they had no right to try him for any offense against the state, because he and they derived their authority from the same source! It was a subtle proposition, and it made the judges hesitate. They might unconsciously be slipping their own heads into the halter; they accordingly washed their hands of the whole matter by shipping Dyer off to England, to be tried before their royal master. He was promptly released, and returned passage-free to America.

Colonists
demand
voice in
expendi-
tures

But Dyer's triumph did not end the contention. The colonists, even at this early stage, had made up their minds to have a uniform system of taxation, and to be represented by an assembly in the expenditure of the public funds, as were the other colonies. The people were practically unanimous in this contention; and they were joined by the governor's Council, the court of assizes, and the corporation of the city. The solicitation was so emphatic as to be in the nature of a demand, and the Duke eventually gave a reluctant and ungracious assent. The only person who seems not to have joined in the petition was the Governor.

Andros had been recalled in 1681; and the Deputy-Governor was now instructed to "keep

things quiet at New York in the meantime." Soon afterward he was advised that the King was disposed to grant the prayer of the people, on condition of the principal inhabitants pledging themselves to raise money enough to support the colonial government. This was accordingly arranged; and after wavering a little longer between fear and aversion, the Duke gave notice of his willingness to establish in New York the same form of government enjoyed by the other colonies. This great measure was accomplished in 1682. It marked an epoch in the progress of New York, and fixed a higher level of freedom, from which there was no subsequent decline.

1674-81

New
York
gains
representative
government

The whole period of Governor Andros' administration, from 1674 to 1681, was stormy and full of contention; but as a whole was beneficial to the colony, even aside from the fact that his oppressive measures regarding taxation had resulted in a substantial gain in liberty for the people. While his efforts to bring Connecticut and New Jersey under the sovereignty of New York were failures, several of his other acts were of a beneficial character. He inaugurated the policy of detaching the Indian confederacy of the Five Nations from its alliance with France, successfully carried out by his successor. The results were to check the advance of the French to the westward, and to vastly increase the trade of the merchants of Albany and New York with those powerful Indian tribes, which had previously thrown the bulk of their commerce to the French along the St.

Andros'
policyWins
back
Indian
trade

1674-88

Lawrence. From this time onward the tide of commerce from the north and northwest flowed down the Hudson instead. This was the turning-point in that marvelous development which has made New York the metropolis of the western continent.

James'
policy of
uniting
northern
colonies

But it was the special ambition of Andros and the King he served to unite all the northern British colonies under one central government, with New York as its political and commercial head. This was an impossibility at that date, because of the diverse interests and characteristics of the people. Andros, although he devoted his principal energies to the measure, necessarily failed. His greatest humiliation, however, was reserved for a later period, when, as governor of New England, he endeavored by force to accomplish what he had previously failed to secure by the arts of statesmanship.

Dongan
replaces
Andros

Andros was succeeded in 1682 as governor of New York by Colonel Thomas Dongan, an Irish soldier of fortune from county Kildare, who had served in both the British and French armies, becoming a colonel in the latter; he was for some time lieutenant-governor of Tangiers, a district where the Duke's favorite Percy Kirke had also made a reputation. All James' appointees were capable soldiers. Dongan served until 1688, when, growing weary of the restraints and vexations of official life, he resigned, and three years later removed to London. He subsequently became Earl of Limerick, and died at London in 1715.

Dongan was a Catholic, but so broad-minded and liberal that he avoided any clash with his Protestant constituents during his entire term. His manners were suave and agreeable, and to these he commendably added moderation and strict integrity. He did not arrive at New York until a year after his appointment. One of his first acts was to convoke an Assembly consisting of a Council of ten, and a House of Representatives of eighteen members elected by the people. This legislature was empowered to make laws for the province, subject to the laws of the kingdom and the assent of the proprietary. He was merely carrying out his instructions, but they were entirely in accord with his own views.

1682-5

Dongan's
adminis-
tration

New York now entered upon an era of local self-government, after having been treated as a subject province for nearly twenty years. These privileges, secured by the spirit and enterprise of her own citizens, raised the province to the same plane which the other English colonies had previously occupied; and the contrast seemed all the greater because about the same time the New England colonies were temporarily deprived of their former freedom.

New
York's
free gov-
ernment

From this period the Dutch and English of New York were firmly united into one people. The Representatives in the General Assembly came from the two races without distinction, and all legislation applied equally to both. This political union, with no separation of interests, was accompanied and succeeded by the more intimate

Unites
Dutch
and
English

1683-4 one of intermarriage, shortly creating a new race with no separation of memories.

Dongan's
first leg-
islature

At the first session of the legislature an act was passed declaring the liberties of the people, a sort of "declaration of rights"; and ample provision was made for the support of the colonial government. The province was likewise divided into counties for the better regulation of local affairs. These measures received the sanction of the Duke in 1684, and went into immediate effect. The same year an amicable if temporary arrangement was entered into with Connecticut regarding the old boundary dispute. Colonel Dongan, though a brave warrior, was above all a man of peace; and his main effort was directed toward laying the foundations for the future prosperity and greatness of the province. His administration was especially distinguished for the attention he gave to Indian affairs, and his success in that direction had much to do with the subsequent progress of the people.

Success
in Indian
affairs

The Five
Nations

This brings us, in the natural order of events, to a consideration of the great Indian confederation known as the Five, later the Six Nations. It was one of the most interesting and romantic alliances among distinct and warlike nationalities known in the annals of history. The confederacy of the Five Nations was probably formed during the sixteenth century, not long before the advent of the whites; but during this short period the leagued tribes had established a reputation for prowess among all the nations between the Great

Lakes and the Gulf, and from the seaboard even as far westward as the Father of Waters. A large number of tribes had been subdued, and the survivors adopted into one or another tribe of the original confederacy; for in this respect the Five Nations had adopted the Roman policy of increasing their strength by absorbing the peoples whom they conquered. The general life and polity of the Indians have already been fully given in the first volume.

**Policy of
the Five
Nations**

When the Europeans first came in contact with the Five Nations, the confederacy embraced the tribes of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, under the general term of Iroquois. This name, however, seems to have been applied to them by the French, as a special designation now lost; for the Indians called themselves *Hodenosawnee*, or *Hotinonsionni*, meaning “*they form a cabin*.” They also applied to themselves the term “*Ongue-Honwe*,” the interpretation of which was “*men surpassing all others*.” The first had reference to their system of confederation, and especially to their custom of holding convocations in cabins, or houses built of logs; while the second referred to their invincibility in battle. They knew no science but that of war, which afforded the only avenue open among them to advancement or distinction.

**Compo-
sition
and name**

A large measure of independent action was always maintained by the several nations. Each made war on its own account against outside tribes whenever it chose to do so; but in matters relating

**Loose-
ness of
bond**

Iroquois
confed-
eracy
broken
up

to the confederacy they acted in concert, and were controlled by the commands of the grand council of sachems. The last grand council of the confederacy was held at Onondaga in 1777. At its conclusion the council-fire was formally extinguished, and thereafter each tribe acted independently of the others. Thus ended the great league of the Iroquois, which had subsisted for two or more centuries.

Mohawks

The Mohawks, who seem to have been the most warlike in the league, occupied the country extending from the St. Lawrence southward to the Mohawk River, and west of Lake Champlain to the territory of the Oneidas. Their proper name was Agmegue, or Gagmegue; and as a tribe they called themselves *Ganniagiwari*, signifying the "She Bear." The Algonquins called them *Ma-haqua*, corrupted by the Dutch into Mohawk. In the wars between the French and English the Mohawks sided with the latter, and participated in the invasion of Canada. Subsequently, when the struggle came on between England and the colonies, the Mohawks continued their former alliance, and under their famous leader Tha-yen-dan-e-gea or Brant committed frightful ravages in the border settlements.

Oneidas

The Oneidas occupied the country immediately west of the Mohawks, and were an offshoot of that tribe. This name signified "tribe of the granite rock," a term exemplified in their totem or standard. At the beginning of the Revolution only the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras declared for the

'American cause. A number of their prominent chiefs were commissioned as officers in the colonial army; and as a consequence of this friendship for the Americans they were driven from their country, their cattle and other property destroyed, and their homes and churches burned by the British and the hostile Indians. Subsequently, during Washington's administration, our own government compensated them for these losses.

Oneidas

Next west of the Oneidas lay the country of the Onondagas or "men of the mountains." They were the central nation, and their principal town Onondaga was the capital of the confederacy. The chief sachem of all the tribes dwelt there, the grand councils were held in the capital town; and there were stored the wampum belts and records of treaties. The Onondagas were bitter enemies of the French, and waged an almost ceaseless warfare against them, until the final ascendancy of the English. They were almost annihilated as a tribe during the Revolutionary War. At its close they were left in a helpless condition, and the majority of them emigrated to Canada. In 1778 those who remained ceded their lands to the State of New York, retaining only a small reservation, and accepting in return an annuity. The tribe at that time numbered less than five hundred individuals. Most of these remained on the reservation, while a few were adopted into the tribes of the Senecas and Tuscaroras.

Ononda-
gas

The Cayugas, the smallest of the five, occupied the lands bordering Cayuga Lake, and adjoining

Cayugas

Cayugas

the Onondagas on the west. They were inveterate enemies of the French, and previous to 1884 had also made frequent inroads on the English settlements to the south of their territory; but they participated in the treaty which Governor Dongan made with the Five Nations that year, and thereafter remained faithful to the English until the close of the Revolutionary War. During that struggle they were bitter enemies of the Americans, and suffered greatly in consequence. At the close of the war they ceded their lands to the State of New York, excepting a small reservation, which they abandoned in 1800. Some joined the Senecas, and others went to Grand River in Canada; but the larger part of the tribe settled at Sandusky, in the Northwest Territory, whence they subsequently removed to Indian Territory. The famous Logan was of Cayuga blood.

Senecas

The Senecas called themselves *Tsonnundawone*; but the Dutch, unable to pronounce so barbarous a name, bestowed upon them the title of Sinnekàas, of which the English pronunciation Senecas has survived. They were one of the largest and most important of the confederated tribes, and were the hereditary doorkeepers of the cabin or council-house. They held the country west of the Cayugas, in the region of Seneca Lake, and had largely increased their numbers by the conquest and adoption of several of the smaller Algonquin tribes adjacent to them. They were friendly to the French, and permitted them to build a fort at Niagara. When Pontiac, the great

Algonquin chief, formed his league against the English in 1763, the Senecas alone of the Six Nations joined him; but when the Revolution came on they allied themselves with their former enemies.

Being more remote from the field of operations than the other three tribes that took part against us in that memorable struggle, they suffered less, and emerged with their tribal organization comparatively unbroken. In the war of 1812 most of the Senecas remained faithful to the United States, and rendered excellent service to our forces on the frontier. A portion of the tribe, however, joined the hostiles in the West; but made peace in 1815, and settled at Sandusky and Stony Creek in Ohio. Three years afterward these bands sold all their lands, except a reservation, to the Shawnees; and in 1831 they also disposed of what they had previously reserved, and removed to Indian Territory. But the greater part of the Seneca tribe remained in New York, where their descendants still live.

Fate of
the
Senecas

They are an intelligent and enterprising people, and many of them have risen to distinction in the various walks of life. Red Jacket and Cornplanter were two of their most distinguished sachems. Colonel Ely S. Parker, who served on General Grant's staff during the Civil War, was a full-blooded Seneca Indian, and a sachem of the Six Nations. He was present at the conference between Generals Lee and Grant in the McLean house at Appomattox, where the conditions of

Noted
men

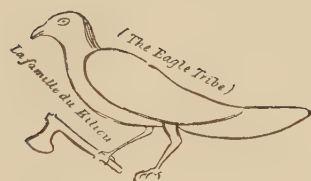
surrender were agreed upon; and Colonel Parker made the first engrossed copy of the terms of capitulation. Subsequently, in March 1867, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general in the regular army, but resigned two years later to become Commissioner of Indian Affairs under President Grant.

Govern-
ment of
Iroquois
confed-
eracy

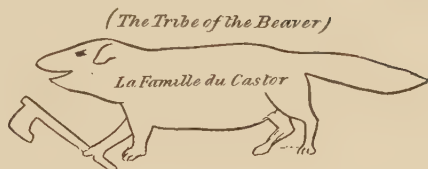
Each of the Five Nations was an independent republic, sovereign in the control of its domestic affairs; the whole bound together by a common interest of self-protection and the passion of conquest. The tribal councils were in almost constant session; but the grand council, composed of representatives from all the tribes, met at stated intervals in the capital town. These bodies were purely representative, and responsible to the individual members of the tribes for their acts. About the only essential difference between the Iroquois confederacy and our own was in the fact that their principal sachems derived their office from inheritance—through the mothers, as usual in savage nations, where the saying is true to the full that “maternity is a matter of fact and paternity is a matter of opinion.” The tribe, however, always retained, as in the old Aryan bodies, the right of deciding whether a chief was physically and mentally fit for the succession. Some of the most distinguished chiefs of the confederacy were adopted sons from subjugated tribes. These, however, could not transmit their office to their descendants. They gained their ascendancy by force of intellect and courage, and held it during good behavior or



(An Iroquois Council of State)



(The Eagle Tribe)
La Famille du Belieu



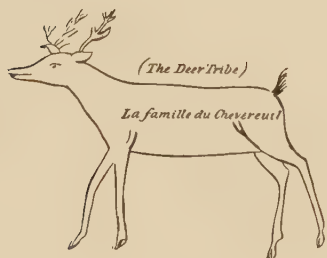
(The Tribe of the Beaver)
La Famille du Castor



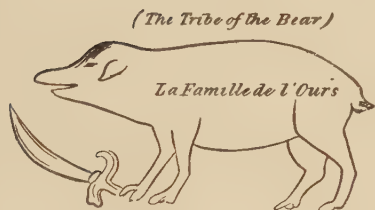
(The Great Goose Tribe)
La Famille du Grand Pouter



(The Little Goose Tribe)
La Famille du Petit Pouter



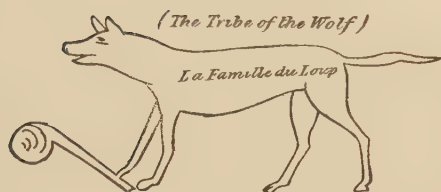
(The Deer Tribe)
La famille du Chevreuil



(The Tribe of the Bear)
La Famille de l'Ours



(The Tribe of the Tortoise)
Famille de la Tortue



(The Tribe of the Wolf)
La Famille du Loup



(The Potatoe Tribe)
La famille de la Pomme de Terre

TOTEMS OF IROQUOIS FAMILIES.

public approval. They were men of great force of character, eloquent orators, natural leaders.

Nearly all the tribes adjacent to the Five Nations, and many at great distances from them, acknowledged their supremacy and paid them tribute. This tribute was collected annally by two sachems, dispatched to each of the subordinated tribes for that purpose. No nation dared to molest the tribute-bearers, or refuse to pay the stipulated sums of wampum. A quick and terrible retribution would have followed such an offense. Nor were any of the tribute-paying tribes allowed to make war or peace without the consent of the Five Nations: their subjection was absolute and complete. It was this, far more than their actual conduct, which saved the early Pennsylvanians from Indian wars and massacres: Penn bought up the Iroquois.

All the early writers concur in describing the Five Nations as the most intelligent and progressive, as well as the fiercest and most formidable, of all the native inhabitants of America. Every public measure was first discussed in their councils, and then decided absolutely by a majority vote, after which action upon it became unanimous. Unfortunately they had little but war to discuss. All debates on important subjects were secret, and armed doorkeepers were stationed to rigidly enforce this custom. Death would have been the penalty for even an attempted intrusion.

The Dutch relations with the Iroquois were peaceful, from dread necessity: their little outposts

Stern
Iroquois
over-
lordship

Instance
Pennsylv-
vania
tribes

A "gov-
ernment
by dis-
cussion"

Iroquois
and
Dutch

would have been slaughtered out instantly had they provoked war with the terrible confederacy. Even Kieft's savage butchery and the consequent war served to strengthen the Dutch position with the Five Nations; for these affected only the Algonquin tribes, the hereditary foes of the Iroquois. During Stuyvesant's administration the Dutch extended their commerce and cemented their friendly relations with the latter. This continued under the English governors, but brought the New-Yorkers into direct competition with the French, and stimulated the hostility between the two colonies and their respective Indian allies. The French maintained a permanent friendship with the Algonquin tribes; but the proud and revengeful Iroquois never forgot Champlain's wars against them. Even in their alliance with the English, they demanded recognition as an independent people.

Iroquois
and
French

French
policy
securing
trade
routes

These were the people and the conditions as Governor Dongan found them. He quickly realized the French advantages over the English in their cordial relations with nearly all the northern and western tribes. The commerce of these tribes was being diverted almost wholly from the Hudson and the Delaware to the St. Lawrence, and the time did not seem far distant when the English would be hemmed in on the north and west by an impassable barrier of allied French and Indians. The French policy of surrounding the Five Nations, and leaving them no open door except toward the English, was also having its effect.

These restless people, once thoroughly roused by the warfare along the Canadian border, had carried their surplus energies into the country south and west of them. In an inconceivably short space of time they exterminated most of the cognate Iroquois tribes, and subjugated or desolated all the extensive region from the Mississippi to the borders of Carolina.

1683

Iroquois
dominat-
ing the
North

Many of these intermediate tribes had been allies of the English colonists in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Carolina; and the white inhabitants of those provinces were naturally forced into the contest in defense of their savage friends, and in many instances even of their own firesides, for of course the Iroquois did not spare the border settlements of whites. Such conditions were intolerable; and in 1683 Governor Dongan, in concert with Lord Howard of Effingham, governor of Virginia, arranged a meeting with the sachems of the Five Nations at Albany. This proved to be one of the most important events in the history of the English interests in America: it was the turning-point of British supremacy over the French.

Dongan
seeks a
treaty

The sachems attended the meeting with all the solemnity of their race. In their affectation of the virtues of extreme poverty, they came clothed in ragged mantles and dirty shirts. But a Roman senator, in the meridian glory of that republic, could not have exhibited greater dignity or composure of manner than these red chiefs from the savage wilds of America. A treaty of peace was entered into, extending likewise to all the tribes

Meeting
at
Albany

“subject” to the Five Nations; *i. e.*, whom they had proved the ability to scalp at will. This embraced the whole country between their territory and the English colonies, and reaching indefinitely westward. Over this vast region the will of the confederacy was law.

The results of this treaty were what Governor Dongan had hoped. The fury of the Five Nations was turned away from the English to expend itself upon the French settlements of the north. Again English merchants and their agents ventured into territory for some years closed against them, and once more trade began to flow down the great rivers whose channels run to the south. Ever afterward the treaty was faithfully observed by the Iroquois. Only one of the original Five Nations took sides with American England against British England in the Revolution, and that act resulted in the disruption of the confederacy.

Had Governor Dongan accomplished nothing more than this Indian treaty, his administration would have deserved high praise. But there were other measures that endeared his memory to the people in the “Duke’s Land.” No man should be punished except by due process of law, a presentment by grand jury and trial by a jury of his peers; martial law and the billeting of soldiers in private houses was forbidden. Religious freedom was guaranteed to all Christians who did not disturb the public peace. It was definitely provided that no tax should be levied without the consent of the Assembly; the right of suffrage was

1683
et seq.

Extent of
Iroquois
suzer-
ainty

Dongan's
treaty
wins
back
Indian
trade

Other ex-
cellent
measures

extended to every freeholder and freeman; the Assembly was authorized to convene every three years, with the right of meeting and adjourning at pleasure while the session lasted; and during the session the members and their servants, not in excess of three, were exempt from arrest or legal action, except for treason or felony. An act embodying all these measures was passed by the Assembly, signed by the Governor, and went into immediate effect. It was also forwarded to England, and received the signature of the Duke of York.

1683-5

Dongan's
liberal
admin-
istration

On the 6th of February, 1685, Charles II. was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of York and proprietary of New York, under the title of James II. When the news reached New York, a perfect hysteria of childish joy and hopefulness seized upon the people. Cannon were fired, bonfires were burnt, and for weeks the people did little more than talk about and rejoice over their extraordinary good fortune. The Duke had already signed their new charter of liberties, and now that he was king, who could predict the great things he would do for them? As a fact, James unblushingly proceeded to undo all his previous good work. He not only refused to renew the charter of liberties he had so recently signed, but the year afterward he withdrew all he had formerly conceded.

Acces-
sion of
James II.Cuts
down
colonial
liberties

About the same time Sir Edmund Andros was sent out to New England with instructions to consolidate its colonies with New Jersey and New

1685-6

Andros
becomes
Dongan's
superior

York. Dongan for the time being was to remain in charge of the latter, but subordinate to Andros. The effect was soon observed in restless discontent, so manifest that Dongan wrote to the ministry for authority to establish more fortifications, "as the people every day grow more numerous, and are of a turbulent disposition."

How New
York was
ham-
pered

Dongan was faithful to his master, but at the same time he endeavored to be just to the people. He felt keenly the encroachments on his province by other colonies. In a letter to the King he claimed that New Jersey (which had doubled in population within ten years) had robbed New York of her territory and her people; that Pennsylvania was encroaching on the domains of New York; that Connecticut, as usual, was "grasping, tenacious, and prosperous at the expense of her neighbors," and exerted an evil influence over the towns belonging to New York on Long Island. He also complained that there had not come into his colony in seven years twenty families of English, Irish, or Scotch, the immigrants being almost entirely from Continental sources; and he urged this as a special reason for annexing the nearest English colonies, "that a more equal balance may be kept between his Ma'teys natural-born subjects and Foreigners, which latter are the most prevailing part of this Government." Of course the real reason was that the free British subjects preferred the colonies where they had freedom, and the annexation *minus* freedom would have killed the immigration.

Dongan objected strenuously to the French sending their priests and emissaries among the Five Nations, as detrimental to British interests. Indeed, this was a chief French object and purpose; it was a combined state enterprise and religious effort. The missionaries were to convert the natives to Christianity, partly *in order* to make them allies of the French colonists and enemies to the English. Dongan was a faithful Catholic, but a soldier and a loyal man, and felt that his first duty was to his government: he notified the French authorities that their action would be resented by the British, and warned the sachems of the Five Nations that the admission of Jesuits would prove fatal to their friendship with England and detrimental to their interests. But he soon learned, to his chagrin and surprise, that his King was largely controlled by French influences; he would have been less surprised had he known of Charles' French pension. The court at Versailles complained of Dongan's threats; and Dongan received the positive commands of James, who was a Catholic first and a loyal Englishman much afterward, to desist from his efforts to neutralize or weaken the influence of the French priests among the Indians.

Dongan's influence with the Five Nations, however, had already taken effect. The treaty of 1683, which closed their activity against the tribes in alliance with the English, likewise gave them leisure to plan vengeance against their old enemies the French. Of late years they had been

1686-7

Dongan
acts
against
French
priestsJames
stops
himBut his
treaty
works

1686-7

Iroquois
make
pretext
for war

greatly inconvenienced by the arms and ammunition supplied to unfriendly tribes from French sources. They chose to regard this as a hostile act, and at once began to attack all Canadian traders who carried arms to tribes with whom they were at war.

English
again
check-
mated by
French
through
James

Dongan solicited authority from the King to aid them in their approaching contest. This was not only demanded in honor by the treaty, but was good policy to retain the friendship of the huge Iroquois power. James at first gave his consent; but the French ministers, appealing to his religious convictions as well as his past obligations to France, induced him to sign what they termed "a treaty of neutrality for America," stipulating that neither nation should give aid to any Indian tribes in their wars with other tribes. A shrewder bargain could hardly have been made in behalf of the French colonies. It left them free not only to continue their intrigues with the tribes opposed to the Five Nations, but to retain their priestly emissaries among the latter. They now resorted to the common expedient of turning the Iroquois and Algonquins against each other, hoping to destroy both. Dongan, smarting with vexation at the weak and short-sighted policy of his sovereign, could do nothing more than advise with his Indian allies. This likewise played into the hands of the French. But Dongan did not hesitate to give the Iroquois counsel and instruction of great value: he urged them to be more humane in the treatment of prisoners, and trained them

Dongan
aids Iro-
quois in-
directly

more fully in the use of firearms and in effective handling of forces in the field. By these measures he gained their lasting gratitude.

1687-8

The treaty of neutrality had been drawn for a single year; and at its termination in 1687 the King's ministers, seeing how prejudicial it was to British interests, joined their appeals to Dongan's not to have James sign a renewal. But the French influence was too powerful, and the treaty was renewed. The King even went to the extent of recalling his faithful governor's commission and replacing him by Sir Edmund Andros. Thus terminated, in 1688, the administration of one of the wisest and best of the royal governors of New York.

French
induce
James to
recall
Dongan

James had fully made up his mind to consolidate the northern colonies. The people of New York, therefore, found themselves not only deprived of that liberty the advent of which they had so joyously celebrated, but humiliated by seeing their province made secondary to Massachusetts. Andros, after a semi-regal journey through the southern provinces, returned to Boston, taking with him most of the important official records of New York. Thereafter he made Boston the seat of his jurisdiction; while he sent his lieutenant-governor, Sir Francis Nicholson, to represent him in New York.

James'
consoli-
dation of
the North

Nicholson supported the idea of an American empire uniting all the colonies under one head, strong enough not only to resist the encroachments of the French but to drive them out of the

Nichol-
son at
New York

continent. After he was made governor of Virginia by William, he advanced this proposition to him. Its merits struck William, who immediately recommended it to the influential elements of the colonies. They did not receive it with favor, nor indeed ought they: at this date they would have lost far more in the development of their individual life than they gained by ousting the French. Virginia spurned the proposition with contempt; whereupon Nicholson recommended that the colonies be placed under a viceroy, and a standing army maintained among them at their own expense, to keep them in subjection. But other matters engaged William's attention; when Anne came to the throne she did not regard the Nicholson plan with favor, and it was accordingly dismissed. Nicholson afterward wrote an "Apology" or "Vindication" of his policy, and made so favorable an impression on the Queen that, three years before his death, she promoted him to lieutenant-general in the British army.

1688

Nichol-
son's
plan for
Amer-
ican
empire

His ad-
ministra-
tion in
New York

Nicholson entered vigorously upon his duties as lieutenant-governor of New York. Learning that the French were contemplating encroachments, he warned them to desist; and so well known was his reputation for ability and determination that the warning was instantly heeded. But the same instructions that had paralyzed the efforts of his predecessor prevented him from extending any aid whatever to the Five Nations in the war which was now raging furiously between them and the French.

Though deserted by the English, the Five Nations displayed an activity and military genius that astonished their adversaries, and spread consternation throughout the French Canadian settlements. They not only proved abundantly able to protect their own territory, but for a long time actually threatened their enemies with subjugation. In a brief space of time every French post was abandoned, or reduced to a state of terror and distress. Even Quebec trembled for its existence; and had the English at this critical moment made a single vigorous effort in conjunction with their savage allies, they would have terminated French occupation in North America. They did not remain inactive from motives of humanity, but solely because of the policy of James, whose devotion to his religion far outweighed his sense of obligation to his realm.

1678

Iroquois
ravage
Canada

English
help
checked
by James

The colonists resented the constraints he imposed upon them. The butcheries of the "Bloody Assizes" inspired fear and aversion; and his efforts to restore "popery" in England caused a great dread throughout the colonies of the same policy extending to them. In New York the suspicion embraced even their old governor, Dongan, honorable as he was. They credited his former action in the settlement of certain land disputes on Long Island to favoritism for Catholic over Protestant claimants, and resurrected the disputes as evidence of his duplicity. He might be a hypocrite as other public officers had been. It was rumored that the colonies were about to be delivered

Fears of a
Catholic
revival

1688-9

Revolu-
tion of
1688

up, bound hand and foot, to the power of Rome, as no doubt was the fact had James had his way. Dongan was cordially detested now; and no one can tell where the matter would have ended, had not intelligence arrived at this critical moment of the peaceful revolution which had taken place in England. William and Mary had crossed the Channel and seated themselves on the British throne; while James was again a fugitive on the Continent, fleeing from the righteous wrath of his own people.

Nichol-
son tries
to stem
colonial
uprising

This news arrived almost simultaneously with that of the insurrection in Boston, which terminated the rule of Andros. Nicholson and his Council unwisely determined to adhere to the Stuart faction. Nicholson not only refused to proclaim William and Mary sovereigns, but dispatched a letter to Governor Bradstreet at Boston, demanding the instant release of Andros and the suppression of the "insurrectionary rabble" that had imprisoned him. This insolent epithet to men backed by the whole body of the people was hotly resented by the inhabitants of New York as well as of Massachusetts; and Nicholson soon became aware that his temper had led him into a serious blunder. He was unsupported by a single class of citizens. The intelligent and influential portion knew that Nicholson and his Council must submit to whatever government was established in England or be suppressed, and chose to wait events. The mass agitated by the anti-popery excitement dreaded some trickery, became panic-stricken, and

decided to take the control of events into their own hands. Many months might elapse before the heralds came to proclaim the new sovereignty, and no one could tell what the papists might accomplish meanwhile.

This extreme party found a leader in the famous Jacob Leisler. He was a German from Frankfort-on-the-Main, early enlisted as a soldier for the Dutch West India Company, and sent to America in this capacity in 1660; leaving this service, he engaged in the Indian trade at Albany, amassed a fortune, became a magistrate and a prominent anti-papery man, thereby earning Andros' bitter enmity. Before Dongan's accession he removed to New York and established himself in business. Soon after, he gained great and just credit by an act of generous humanity. A French Huguenot refugee matron and her son, landed penniless on Manhattan Island, were ordered sold into slavery to pay their passage; Leisler not only paid the debt and secured their freedom, but assisted them till they could gain employment and independence. Recently he had refused to pay the duty on some imported goods, on the ground that the collector was a papist, and declared that there was no legitimate governor in the province; both increased his popularity. The people were smarting under the removal of their records to Boston and the reduction of the colony to an inferior rank. Nicholson's stern character rendered him unpopular. Though a professed Protestant, it was believed that he was secretly a Catholic,

Leisler

Anti-
papacy
leader

1688-9

because he adhered to James; there were too many English instances.

Nichol-
son's
military
prepa-
rations

Amid the excitement, Nicholson threw another brand into the fire by preparing for the defense of the city. He alleged it as done in anticipation of attack from a French fleet; but many regarded it as a trick. A report was circulated that the papists were preparing to massacre the Protestants; another St. Bartholomew's day was to be enacted in the streets of New York.

Hasten
his over-
throw by
Leisler

The train-bands were summoned to assemble; whereupon Leisler, who commanded one of them, placed himself at the head of his men and pushed his way into the fort. Here he proclaimed himself commander in defense of the Protestant cause, and in attendance on the orders of the King and Queen of England. He dictated an address, and had a number of copies written out and circulated through the city. It set forth that although they had suffered many grievances from "a wicked popish governor, Dongan," they would have patiently awaited redress from England had not the oppressions of Nicholson and the schemes of the papists forced them to take up arms and secure the fort, which they were ready to deliver up to any Protestant officer whom the King and Queen might send to receive it.

Leisler proved himself an active and vigilant commander. As the substantial burghers generally held aloof, he sought to fortify his position by the King's favor; and dispatched a messenger in haste to London, bearing a detailed account of

what had taken place, and assuring the King of his entire loyalty. He also sent messengers to Massachusetts and Connecticut, with representations that brought over their governments to his side. About the same time a report was circulated, and generally believed, that an English fleet was approaching to render assistance to the insurgents. These influences had the desired effect. All classes declared for the popular cause, and enrolled themselves under the banner of William and Mary.

1689

Leisler
backed
by the
masses

These events occupied several months during the spring of 1689. Meanwhile Nicholson, seeing that the entire people was against him, decided to abandon the field, and terminated his official power on June 10. The whole administration was now in the hands of Leisler, who occupied the dangerous position of governing without authority from any quarter. Had he possessed balance he might have steered safely through this difficult course and won the approval of his sovereigns; but his sudden elevation inflamed his self-esteem to his own undoing, and perhaps no one could have maintained himself in such a position without increasing tyranny.

Becomes
supreme

On the 13th of June, 1689, Connecticut proclaimed William and Mary sovereigns. Delegates visited New York a few days later and delivered printed copies of the proclamation to Leisler, and on the 22d he made the announcement public. The delivery of the proclamation to Leisler instead of the Council aroused the indignation of the latter; whereupon Cortlandt, the

Pro-
claims
William
and Mary

1689-90

Albany
held by
anti-
Leisler
faction

mayor, and a number of prominent citizens, retired to Albany, and seizing upon the fort there declared that they would hold it for the King. This was a revolt of the aristocracy against the rule of the populace, under a leader regarded as a demagogue. Leisler fortified his power by appointing a committee of safety, and dispatched his son-in-law Milbourne to reduce the Albany faction. Both sides proclaimed their allegiance to King William, but neither dared to go to the extremity of shedding blood.

Leisler
assumes
valida-
tion of
his
authority

Meanwhile, on July 30, while Nicholson was on his way to England, the King issued an order confirming him in his office. With the letter were written instructions from the King and Queen; the whole package being addressed to Nicholson, or in his absence, "to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws." It did not reach New York until December 9, when the messenger delivered the papers to Leisler as the only person answering the description. Cortlandt and one of the councilors, having returned from Albany, demanded the papers; the messenger drew out of the quarrel by saying that he "would not be hanged for any of them." Leisler, now feeling confirmed in his authority, again proclaimed William and Mary sovereigns, and proceeded with the administration of the government.

By this time events had progressed beyond midwinter of 1689-90, and up to the beginning of the most disastrous war that had yet occurred



LOUIS DE BUADE, COUNT DE FRONTENAC.

between the colonists and the French and Indians of Canada. The first serious irruption was directed against Albany, but expended its force on the weaker town of Schenectady. The north-eastern sections being too unsafe, the Albany faction gave up their pretensions and sought refuge in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Their course was largely influenced by public spirit, that the united strength of the province might be exerted against the common enemy; but Leisler with vulgar triumph confiscated their estates.

1689-90

Anti-
Leisler
faction
withdraw

A convention was now summoned to meet in New York, from all the towns under Leisler's jurisdiction or influence. Two came from Connecticut, and were admitted on an equal footing. The objects of the meeting were to provide for public welfare and safety. Various regulations more or less impolitic were adopted; the resentment of the public was aroused, and Leisler was subjected to numerous insults and menaces. Many of the English inhabitants of Long Island, submitting with reluctance, appealed to Connecticut to annex their settlements.

Conven-
tion in
New York

Meanwhile the French forces in Canada had been largely reinforced. The supreme command was restored to the Count of Frontenac, the most able and enterprising French leader ever in America. A general invasion of the English colonies was planned, and Frontenac received the following instructions from Louis XIV.: "If among the inhabitants of New York there are any Catholics whose fidelity can be assured, they may

Frontenac
plans
conquest
of Eng-
lish
colonies

1689-90

What
Louis
XIV. was
to do
with New
York

be left in their homes after they have sworn fidelity to King Louis. From the other inhabitants, artisans and people necessary for agriculture may be kept at work as prisoners. All officers, and all the principal inhabitants, will be kept in prison till they are redeemed by ransom. With regard to all others who are not French, they will be transported to New England, France, or other places. But all Frenchmen, especially those of the pretended reformed religion, will be sent back to France."

French
claim
most of
North
America

Frontenac was also charged to recover the Hudson's Bay country, to protect Acadia, and to aid the French fleet in capturing New York. But even these enterprises did not include all that he was expected to accomplish. The French now laid claim to the whole continent north and west of New England, above the Spanish possessions, and to and beyond the Mississippi River, and were prepared to assert their rights. They excepted only the English colonies of Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania.

Fron-
tenac
neutral-
izes
Iroquois

No sooner had Frontenac assumed command than his extraordinary energy became manifest. While perfecting his plans for an invasion of New York, he attempted to get the Five Nations out of the way by a treaty. Failing in this object, he did obtain a suspension of hostilities, and thus removed them from the board. This was a signal victory to start with, for the Five Nations had proved themselves nearly equal to the task of beating the French alone.

War was now on in earnest, and the dissensions in New York opened the way to a French-Indian invasion. Rumors of the intended movement came to Albany before the holiday season of 1689. That city with the whole northern part of the province had so far steadily refused to recognize Leisler's authority. Albany had called her own convention and intrusted her public affairs to magistrates of her own selection, refusing utterly to participate in Leisler's meeting; but in face of this great danger they appealed to him for aid. He refused to recognize their government, and they sent messengers to Massachusetts and Connecticut for assistance; it was promptly granted, and New England soldiers were soon in charge of the Albany fort. They replaced the Catholic commandant, Sharp, with a Connecticut man, Captain Tallmadge, unfortunately not experienced in Indian warfare. The self-outwitted Leisler now sent a company of soldiers under Milbourne to Albany, but they were refused admission to the fort.

1689-90

Albany
garri-
soned by
New-Eng-
landers

By this time Frontenac had completed his arrangements for a general attack on the north-eastern colonies. Three expeditions, composed of picked men with savage auxiliaries, were to proceed against Albany, New Hampshire, and Maine simultaneously. Here we have only to deal with the first, made up of one hundred of the best soldiers that France had in America, and ninety-six "Christian" Hurons.

Fron-
tenac's
expe-
ditions

This party set out from Canada about the middle of January, 1690. For twenty-two days

1690

Fron-
tenac's
expe-
dition
against
Albany

they wandered through a wilderness rendered trackless by deep snows. A more wretched or forlorn war-party never marched on a more apparently desperate and hopeless expedition. Had the English suspected their approach, they could easily have waylaid and annihilated them. They crossed Lake Champlain on the ice, and halted on the west bank for counsel. The Indians objected to attacking Albany. "How long," said they with sullen ill-humor, "since the French have been so bold?" The Frenchmen replied that since their late misfortunes, honor required some desperate achievement at their hands. But the Indians wanted scalps and plunder; the Frenchmen might do as they pleased about the glory. Accordingly, at the parting of the roads to Albany and Schenectady, the Indians all filed off into the latter, and the Frenchmen could do nothing but follow.

Indians
force a
change to
Schenec-
tadyReckless-
ly unde-
fended

During the night of February 8 they came to the Mohawk, a short distance above the village. They were so nearly exhausted that they had decided to throw themselves on the mercy of the garrison, and surrender as prisoners of war. But their messengers soon returned with information that the garrison and all the village were fast asleep, after a grand entertainment with heavy drinking and merry-making. They had not even closed the gates of the fort or stationed sentinels; the only guard was two snow men, placed as if in derision on either side of the principal entrance to the stockade. Eight or nine of the Connecticut

militia, constituting the entire garrison, occupied the block-house.

1690

Separating into two parties, one Indian and one French, they noiselessly glided over the snow until they converged at the gate where the snow men were stationed. The opposite gate, on the Albany side, was likewise open; but they were too eager for blood to think of closing that. As they rushed into the silent fortress, they "screeched the war-whoop together," and immediately began their work of destruction. The torch was applied to the wooden buildings, which soon lighted up the scene of horror.

French-
Indian
party
burst into
fort

The war-whoop had frozen the hearts of the women and little children, who huddled together in their beds until they were brained by savage tomahawks. The men were shot as they rushed into the light of the burning buildings. Tallmadge and his men, realizing the futility of resistance, escaped through the open Albany gate; they also brought away a remnant of half-clad fugitives, of whom twenty-five subsequently lost one or more limbs from the frost. Sixty persons were slaughtered outright in the massacre, while eighty or ninety, mostly women and children, were carried away captive to suffer a worse fate. Loaded with the spoils of their own homes and sometimes the scalps of their own families, they were driven onward through the trackless snows at the rate of twenty-five or thirty miles per day; and all who fell out by the way or lagged behind from exhaustion were slain with a blow of the tomahawk.

General
massacre

1690

Counter-
stroke for
Schenec-
tady
massacre

The news of this massacre spread consternation throughout the northern colonies. Colonel Schuyler, who commanded at Albany, went in hot pursuit of the retreating marauders, and succeeded in capturing a number of them. These he treated with a considerate kindness highly creditable to his humanity, but perhaps unmerited by the conditions. Learning from the prisoners the extent of the plan for invasion, Schuyler hastily warned the north-colonial authorities. Appeals for aid and unity of action were also sent to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; and liberal responses came in well-trained bodies of militia accustomed to Indian warfare. Extensive preparations were made to invade Canada with the approach of spring. The Five Nations were invited to join the contemplated movement; but they resented the former English desertion, and as a body declined. They declared, however, that no French arts could ever prevail upon them "to take the part of an ancient enemy against an ancient friend"; and many individual warriors joined the English.

Salmon
Falls
massacre

About a month after the massacre at Schenectady, another party of French and Indians made a descent on Salmon Falls, in southeastern New Hampshire. The houses were reduced to ashes, thirty persons were massacred, and about fifty carried away as prisoners.

The plan for invasion of Canada embraced the sending of an army from Albany against Montreal, in support of an effort against Quebec by a Massachusetts fleet. The energy displayed by the

French, with the outrages by the Massachusetts Indians they had inspired, aroused the full spirit of New England to drive the French from the continent.

1690

Plan for
invading
Canada

As a preliminary, Sir William Phips of Massachusetts was dispatched early in May with a small fleet and seven hundred men against Acadia. Since the treaty of Breda in 1667, the French had remained in undisputed possession of the peninsula. Their population had increased to between six and seven thousand persons, engaged in the lumber, fur, and fish trade, and among the most contented and prosperous of American colonists. They had built a so-called fort—some insignificant palisades—at Port Royal; occupied by only a small garrison, as no attack was anticipated. Phips' conquest was therefore an easy task. His ships drew up before the post on the 19th of May, 1690, and the unprepared garrison surrendered after a short engagement. They were given safe conduct to the nearest French garrisons, and in other respects treated with the utmost consideration. The "fort" was razed, and Sir William proclaimed the whole territory English domain. His fleet was back at Boston the 30th of May, the whole expedition having occupied less than one month. On the way home it destroyed another French settlement at St. John's River, in the Bay of Fundy.

Phips
reduces
Port
Royal

And St.
John's

These successes brought great fame to Sir William Phips. He became the hero of the hour. The victories he had brought to the British arms

1690
Fitz-John
Win-
throp's
expe-
dition
against
Montreal

were of no mean character, and for the time being they checked the French advance. They also greatly encouraged the colonists in their decision to invade Canada. During the summer of 1690 an army of colonists and friendly natives (principally warriors from the Five Nations) assembled at Albany. A fleet of boats and canoes was built and launched on Lake George, to convey the army thence, by way of Lake Champlain and Richelieu River, into the St. Lawrence. This army, under command of Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut, was to attack Montreal and act in concert with a fleet from Boston against Quebec.

Wrecked
by incom-
petent
commis-
sary

The extent and wisdom of the preparations portended success; and failure resulted only through the incompetence of one man. Leisler's son-in-law Milbourne had been appointed commissary-general, to supply the necessary provisions; his failure to have them where they were needed compelled Winthrop's army to retreat just as victory was about to crown its efforts. It had already arrived in the vicinity of Montreal, where its presence had thrown the French into consternation.

Phips' co-
operating
fleet

While the army was organizing at Albany, there was no lack of energy in preparing the fleet at Boston. By the 20th of August thirty-four ships were ready, and manned by twenty-three hundred of the best sailors and soldiers that Massachusetts could furnish. It was a splendid fleet that sailed out of Boston harbor that day, under command of the brave and popular Sir William Phips. The courage and enterprise of the leader

could not be questioned; but his subsequent failure has thrown some doubt upon his capacity for so great an undertaking. The details must not be given space here. Enough that the expedition was such a complete and dismal failure that Sir William never fully recovered from the effects of his disappointment and chagrin. A remnant of the fleet reached Boston on the 30th of November, with the first tidings of the failure of the expedition. More than one thousand men had been killed in battle, lost in disasters at sea, or died of small-pox—for they suffered a dreadful visitation of this scourge in addition to their other misfortunes.

1690

Phips' expedition
a shocking
failure

We now return to Leisler's administration in New York, and its tragic ending. On learning of the unfortunate results of Phips' expedition, Leisler flew into a passion and ordered the arrest of General Winthrop, commander of the army that had been compelled to retreat from before Montreal. That failure, as previously stated, was due to Leisler's son-in-law, not to Winthrop, whose abilities were so manifest that on his return he received a special vote of thanks from Connecticut. Jealousy probably actuated Leisler; but the result was disastrous to his ambitions. The authorities of Connecticut were deeply incensed, and warned the New York governor that he had better look to his own estate. Leisler seems now to have lost his head, and entered upon a course that presaged an early fall. His manner in public, as well as his course in administration, became unbearable; especially he vented his spite on the

Leisler's
rage and
resentment

aristocratic classes, who were ready at the first chance to pull him down.

1689-91

Governor
Slough-
ter

In August 1689, William separated the government of New York from New England, in compliance with the universal desire of both, and appointed one Colonel John Sloughter in Leisler's place. Sloughter was an obscure man, referred to as a man of "small means and ill repute," "a profligate, mean, and narrow-minded adventurer," probably a mere soldier of fortune. So was Dongan; but like all James' appointees, he justified the selection—curiously when we think of James' repute for dullness. Sloughter did not make his appearance on the scene until during the second year after his appointment; that he was to be their governor came to the people of New York as an ordinary rumor.

Captain
Ingolds-
by

He was preceded by one Captain Ingoldsby, as little known to fame as his superior. Ingoldsby came over in the *Beaver*; landed in New York in January 1691; and immediately notified Leisler that he bore a commission from the King, and was empowered to take charge of the fort and the government until the arrival of Colonel Sloughter. Leisler declined to surrender the keys to any one except the duly commissioned governor, and offered Ingoldsby comfortable quarters in the city. Ingoldsby thereon issued a proclamation denouncing Leisler and requiring submission. Leisler again announced his readiness to give way when the legal governor presented his commission, but declined to be intimidated by Ingoldsby's

Ignored
by
Leisler

proclamation. At this juncture soldiers were landed from the *Beaver* with several pieces of artillery, fortified themselves in Battery Park, and cannonaded the fort; but as Leisler kept the British flag flying, the soldiers became alarmed lest their act might be treason, desisted, and moved their guns away.

1691

Ingolds-
by
against
Leisler

Thus matters remained until March, when Slougher himself arrived and took up his quarters in the city. Leisler instantly sent messengers to receive his orders. The messengers were detained and no reply returned. Early the next morning Leisler asked by letter to whom he should surrender the fort. The only reply to this letter was an order from Slougher to Ingoldsby to "arrest Leisler and the persons called his Council." Leisler, his son-in-law Milbourne (who also acted as his secretary), and six members of the Council were at once arrested. The latter were tried for high treason by a special court composed exclusively of royalists, and of course convicted; but were subsequently reprieved.

Slough-
ter
arrests
Leisler

Leisler and Milbourne now appealed to the King, on the ground that the governor had no authority to institute a tribunal for their condemnation. The court was duly organized, however, with Joseph Dudley, then chief justice of New York, presiding. He handed down an opinion declaring that Leisler had never possessed any legal authority whatever, and that consequently all his acts were treasonable. Conviction quickly followed, and for Milbourne as accomplice. But

Who is
convicted
of
treason

1691 execution was withheld. In April the Assembly met and passed several resolves, condemning Leisler and his deeds; and in particular declaring his refusal to surrender the fort on Ingoldsby's demand an act of treason.

Upper
classes
want
Leisler's
blood

Extort it
from
drunken
governor

The governor seems to have been anxious to spare the lives of the condemned, in order to save possible evil consequences to himself; but yet he felt the need of doing something to quiet those who were smarting under Leisler's past acts and thirsting for his blood. In May, Sloughter wrote that he had "resolved to wait for the royal pleasure, if by any other means than hanging he could keep the country quiet." But on the 14th the Council voted that Leisler and Milbourne should be executed, and the governor assented. It is said that he held out even after this; whereupon he was invited to a grand banquet, and the eating and drinking continued until late in the night. Then, "when his Excellency's reason was drowned in his cups, the entreaties of the company prevailed with him to sign the death-warrant, and before he recovered his senses the prisoners were executed." Their properties of course were confiscated.

General
panic

Leisler's adherents were dismayed at his execution. The old dread of religious persecution seized upon the terrified inhabitants, and numbers fled from the province. The exodus alarmed the authorities for their own safety; a general indemnity was accordingly passed in great haste by the Assembly, which quieted the fears of the people and arrested the departures. Leisler's son lodged



COLONEL PETER SCHUYLER.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

a complaint with the King regarding the execution and confiscation; and he pushed the matter with such vigor that the Privy Council soon afterward declared that while the trial and execution were legal, it was advisable to restore the forfeited estates. The attainder of treason was reversed by special act of Parliament; and thus the matter was officially put at rest. But the animosities engendered by it disturbed the community long afterward.

1691

English
govern-
ment on
Leisler's
sentence

The most important act of Sloughter's administration was a meeting with the principal sachems of the Five Nations, to renew more friendly relations with that people. The chiefs declared that the French had but recently made them propositions for a lasting peace; having no love for that people, however, they were now anxious to "brighten their ancient belt of friendship" with the English.

Five
Nations
seek new
agree-
ment

Sloughter died suddenly just after his return from this conference—August 2, 1691, not many weeks after the executions; but his work was continued by a much better and abler man—Peter Schuyler, grand-uncle of Philip Schuyler of Revolutionary fame. He was the first mayor of Albany (incorporated in 1688), chairman of the board of Indian affairs, and knew how to deal with the savages better than any other Englishman of his time. His kindness and justice toward them, with his abilities, secured him an immense influence in all their transactions. Toward the close of 1691 he organized and led against Montreal an

Peter
Schuyler

1692 expedition composed of warriors from the Five Nations and a small body of colonial troops. Though the invaders were finally compelled to retreat, they inflicted severe losses upon the French and their allies in several engagements, and encouraged the Iroquois into continuing their operations through the winter.

Schuyler
leads
Iroquois
against
French

Colonel Benjamin Fletcher was Sloughter's successor as governor of New York, reaching there August 29, 1692. He is described as a man of sordid disposition, violent temper, and shallow capacity; but he certainly had no lack of energy. He was very curious regarding the Mohawks, just then the subjects of a peculiarly romantic interest in Europe, and overrated because implacable enemies of the French. Scarcely had he landed when he set out for their country, where he remained some months, learning their dialect and familiarizing himself with their customs, meanwhile being royally entertained. The following year, when Schuyler went to the relief of the Indians against the French, Fletcher joined him at Schenectady, and so raised himself in savage estimation that they dubbed him the "Great White Arrow," a distinction he enjoyed the rest of his life.

More
esteemed
by Ind-
ians than
whites

Fletcher's instructions authorized him to combine the militia of Connecticut and the Jerseys with the New York regiments, himself being commander-in-chief of the whole. The plan exemplifies the utter English ignorance of colonial affairs which explains the Revolution. Connecticut then would almost rather have joined Canada than

To com-
mand
Connec-
ticut
militia

New York, with the old hates and boundary quarrels still rankling, and would fight first. When Fletcher tendered his commission to Governor Treat, *ex-officio* commander of the militia, a stern menace from the captain of the company present resulted in the speedy abandonment of his pretensions.

1692

Fletcher
snubbed
by Con-
necticut

Fletcher's administration in New York was distinguished by his efforts to make the Church of England the established church there. He succeeded in getting a bill through the lower branch of the Assembly to settle ministers of that faith in the various parishes, supported by taxation. The bill as passed was not to his liking, however, and was amended by the Council; this amendment the Assembly refused to accept. It seems that they set the compensation too low to suit him. He denounced them as trying to be dictators though only having "a third share" in the government; told them they had "sat a long time to little purpose, and been a great charge to the country," and asked them why they did not cut down their own ten shillings a day, which was "a large allowance." They were unmoved by his abuse. For several years he kept his administration in a broil with this attempt, his pet measure; but finally let it drop in despair, and thence till the end of his term drifted with the tide, his energies weakened and his intellect clouded by dissipation.

Tries to
establish
Church of
England

Wrangles
with
Assembly

His commission embraced Pennsylvania also, a course urged upon William by the enemies of Penn as necessary for the colony's safety; and

1693-7

Fletcher
in Penn-
sylvania

a pompous irruption into the Quaker province in 1693 was the result. While he was there, Penn wrote him a letter cautioning him to "tread softly," as the territory and the government were Penn's, and the latter would hold him to a strict account for any irregularities he might sanction. Fletcher seems to have taken the letter to heart, for he soon afterward appointed William Markham deputy-governor and returned to New York.

Founds
first New
York
press

Fletcher's presiding at the trial of William Bradford, the celebrated Quaker printer, and being so impressed by his boldness and ability that he invited the printer to remove his press to New York, have been recited under "The Quaker Colonies." Fletcher appointed Bradford public printer with an allowance of £50 per annum, and thus established the first printing-press in New York, which exercised a great and beneficial influence on the future destinies of the province. He likewise issued in 1697 a charter for building a church on "King's Farm," to be known as Trinity Church; its namesake still occupies the same spot, and in its yard are many graves and tombs of the older residents of New York.

And
Trinity
churchFron-
tenac
plans de-
struction
of
Iroquois

The peace of Ryswick having been declared in 1697, between France, England, Spain, and the Netherlands, Count Frontenac's entire command was free to attempt the annihilation of the Iroquois confederacy. He refused to recognize them as affected by the treaty, and prepared to send against them an overwhelming force. But just at this crisis arrived Lord Bellomont (Richard



THE EARL OF BELLOMONT.

Coote), commissioned in 1695 to replace Fletcher. Bellomont was a man of capacity and resolution; and being informed of Frontenac's purpose and preparations, he immediately supplied these tribes with munitions of war, and notified the French governor that if he persisted, he (Bellomont) would invade Canada with all the forces at his command. Bellomont's firmness was well known, and Frontenac was compelled to abandon the enterprise.

1697

Bello-
mont
upholds
Iroquois
against
Fron-
tenac

Previous to this time, piracy on the high seas had become an international evil. The old buccaneers, who at first had preyed chiefly on the rich commerce of Spain, had enlarged their efforts to embrace ships of all nations. Piracy had become a recognized profession, in which many daring spirits were engaged, and many meaner ones in high station interested. While the penalty was death, the working pirate knew that the influence of his high-placed partners and backers gave him ten chances to one of going free; and he risked the one chance for the enormous profits.

Piracy
widely
practiced
and
winked at

It was believed that Fletcher was interested in this traffic, and he was removed largely on that ground: not that he was exactly a sleeping partner with pirates, but that he took presents from them to refrain from interference. William certainly thought the charges likely; for in his personal instructions to Bellomont he said: "I send you, my lord, to New York because an honest and intrepid man is wanted to put down these abuses, and because I believe you to be such a man."

Bello-
mont
charged
to sup-
press it

At that time there lived in New York city a certain Captain William Kidd, the emigrant son of a persecuted Scotch Covenanting clergyman. He had gained a reputation in privateering against the French, and also in the merchant service; and having acquired a competence, had settled down to enjoy it. He was noted as a bold, skillful, and successful seaman and fighter; and had assured prominent citizens that with a single ship of thirty or forty guns he could sweep the whole race of pirates from the face of the ocean. Among these citizens was a fellow-Scot of growing importance, Robert Livingston, founder of that enormously powerful and intellectually distinguished clan in the New York colony (curiously, also the son of a harried Presbyterian divine); at this time and for thirty-five years town clerk of Albany, and then on a visit to London. Hearing of Bellomont's special task, he sought an interview with him, and recommended Kidd; especially as familiar with the pirate lairs and cruising grounds in the Indian Ocean.

1695-7
Captain
Kidd

Recom-
mended
by Bello-
mont

Pirate-
quelling
stock
company

Bellomont acceded, and asked the Admiralty to put Kidd in command of a frigate; but as it would be awkward to make men of the regular navy serve under a civilian, it declined. A private company was therefore organized to fit out the expedition, with a capital of £6000. Oxford the First Lord of the Admiralty, Somers the Lord Chancellor, and three other great official Whig noblemen, including Bellomont himself, took £4800; Livingston and Kidd each put in £600.



ROBERT LIVINGSTON THE FOUNDER.

One-tenth of the booty was to be set aside for the King; the remainder to be divided among shareholders, captain, and sailors. A frigate called the *Adventure*, carrying thirty-six guns, was equipped at London, and Captain Kidd was placed in command. But much difficulty was experienced in securing a complement of men—the service was too dangerous for the pay; so Kidd brought his ship over to America, where he found volunteers in abundance, many of them ex-pirates themselves. He was authorized to act against the French, to seize pirates wherever he found them, and convey them to places where they could be dealt with according to law.

1697-9

Kidd's expedition

His first prize was a French ship, which he encountered off Newfoundland on his way over, and brought into New York; the incident greatly helped him in obtaining his crew. The *Adventure* sailed out of the Hudson on the 6th of September, 1697, with one hundred and fifty-four men. Madagascar, off the southeastern coast of Africa, was at that time the chief rendezvous of the pirates, and thither Kidd directed its course.

Manned
in
America

It is probable that in the beginning Kidd was honest in wishing to uproot piracy, as well as to enrich himself out of the treasure on the pirate vessels or deposited by them at various places. He may have remained so: he asserted that he did, but that his men revolted, and forced him to turn pirate himself and attack the very shipping which he had been sent out to protect. They thought to exchange extreme peril and uncertain profits for

Excuse
for
turning
pirate

perfect safety and enormous wealth. At any rate,
 1698-9 he joined the sea-rovers already on the spot, rob-
 Kidd as bing merchant vessels right and left, and attacking
 pirate pirates with equal ferocity when they were richly
 laden and his force was the stronger.

When this became known, orders were sent to
 the governors of all the English colonies to apprehend him if he came within their jurisdiction.
 Ordered But he had now made enough to satisfy himself
 seized (or had mastered his crew), and he determined to
 abandon his dangerous occupation, from conscience or prudence. He reached the American coast near the entrance to Delaware Bay, and sailing thence northeast, anchored in Oyster Bay of Long Island Sound. There he procured the services of a lawyer from New York named Emott, and running across to Rhode Island, sent the attorney to Bellomont at Boston to plead his case.
 Arrives at New York

Emott's mission was not successful. His purpose was to secure a safe-conduct for his client, that the latter might confer with the governor without being subjected to arrest. Bellomont would not assume the responsibility of granting the safe-conduct. Kidd sent word that he could prove his innocence, and only wished a fair opportunity to present his evidence. Bellomont replied that if he could prove his innocence he should have the safe-conduct. Accepting this assurance, Kidd departed for Boston, reaching that city on the 1st of July, 1699. As during the trial he presented no testimony of any value to show his innocence, he probably imagined that his relations to
 Negotiates for safety
 Goes to Boston

influential people would get him off as they had others, or he would not so boldly have placed himself in the power of the authorities.

1699-
1701

After several conferences with Bellomont, Kidd was summoned to appear before the Council, and closely questioned; being unable to give satisfactory answers, his arrest was ordered. After some months' confinement in the jail at Boston, Kidd and his men were shipped off to London for trial. The chief was charged in "common form" of piracy and accessory crimes, and particularly with the murder of one of his men, William Moore. The charge of piracy was not seriously pressed; but Kidd was convicted of the murder of Moore, and with nine of his companions was hanged at Execution Dock in London, on the 24th of May, 1701. The trial was high-handed and unfair, with scant evidence, and obvious reluctance on the court's part to press for more; it is generally conceded that he was not legally hanged. But it was universally believed that he deserved to be hanged,—as indeed is apparent even on his own story,—and so the matter rested.

Trial and
execution
of Kidd

Legal
doubts

The government could not afford to probe the matter too freely. The King and a number of his noble intimates had promoted the enterprise; and a virulent opposition charged the nobles with sharing in Kidd's profits. Impeachment resolutions were introduced into Parliament, and pressed with all the venom of party rancor. They did not include the King; but they were aimed at his official family, and he was compelled to stand by

Impeach-
ment of
the com-
pany

the accused. But no respectable evidence was adduced, and the excitement soon died out.

1697-
1701

Bello-
mont's
character

Macaulay refers to Bellomont as a man "of eminently fair character, upright, courageous, and independent"; and other history validates the judgment much more than in some of his pronouncements. Bellomont prosecuted the illicit traders in New York—the very backbone of the community from the early Dutch times—with such vigor that a petition for his removal was sent to England. His unpopularity in the former arose solely from his enforcement of the laws; and he had the consolation of knowing that his enemies were also enemies of the public. In Boston he associated freely with the people, and became very popular there and in the entire province of Massachusetts. Though a pronounced Churchman, he attended weekly lectures regularly with the General Court, and professed great regard for the Puritan preachers. After his too early death (on March 5, 1701) his remains were buried at the Battery in New York; but were subsequently removed to St. Paul's churchyard, where they still rest.

Enforces
laws
against
smug-
gling and
piracy

Death

Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, was the next royal governor of New York. He was a grandson of the famous Earl of Clarendon, and cousin to Queens Mary and Anne, who were daughters of James II. and Anne Hyde. Cornbury left the reputation of having been the worst governor New York ever had. He is described as a man "whose character was no less odious than despicable, rapacious and prodigal, voluptuous and cruel,

Cornbury



BUST OF LORD CORNBURY.



LORD CORNBURY IN FEMALE DRESS.

addicted to the loftiest arrogance and the meanest chicanery." This person was an officer of the household troops under James II.; but no sooner had William and Mary landed at Torbay, on the 5th of November, 1688, than he deserted and carried his whole troop over to the new aspirants. For many years afterward he was in Parliament.

1688-
1703

Cornbury
deserts
James II.

One of William's last official acts, a few days before his death on March 8, 1702, was to commission Cornbury as governor of New York and New Jersey. Anne confirmed the commission, doubtless rejoicing at the opportunity to be rid of her disreputable relative. He reached New York on the 3d of May, where he received a cordial welcome for his relationship to the new Queen, and the general supposition that he was warmly attached to the Protestant interest. The Assembly generously voted him £2000 to pay the expenses of his voyage, and provided a revenue for the public service seven years in advance.

Loaded
upon New
York

It did not take them long to discover that they had made a mistake. The following spring they appropriated £1500 to erect fortifications at the Narrows; and as they had by this time become better acquainted with their new governor, they specified that no part of the money should be used for any other purpose. Scarcely had it been turned into the treasury, however, when it disappeared, and the Narrows remained as barren of fortifications as ever. In June the Assembly petitioned for a treasurer of its own nomination; whereupon Cornbury insolently notified them that

Embez-
zles the
public
funds

1702
et seq.Corn-
bury's
swagger-
ing
tyranny

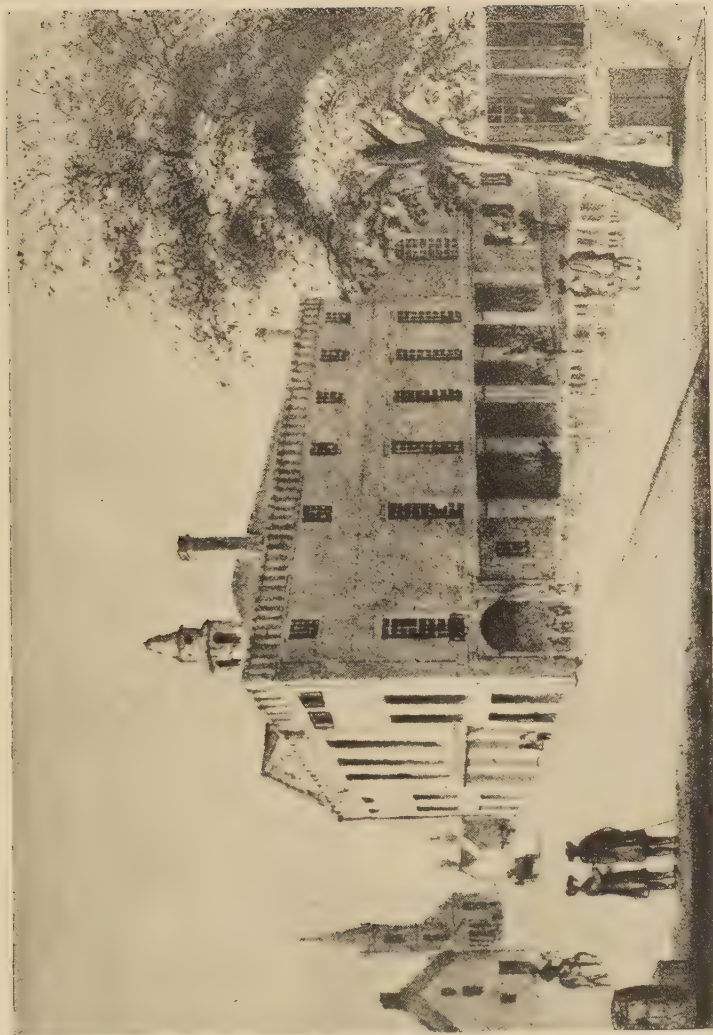
they had no rights except such as the Queen chose to grant them. But Anne took a different view of the matter; and when it came before her the following year, she authorized the Assembly to make such specific appropriations as they pleased, and to appoint a treasurer to take charge of the funds.

Confis-
cates dis-
senting
churches

Cornbury had been educated at Geneva, in a Calvinistic school, and the New-Yorkers took it for granted that he was a friend to the Presbyterian cause. It was as likely to work the other way, as with James I.: to know the Presbyterian divines of the age was not always to love them. At Jamaica, on Long Island, the people of all denominations had united their contributions and built a church, just as the inhabitants of small Western towns often do at the present time. The Governor took it away from the people who had built it and gave it to his own denomination; the courts restored the building to its rightful owners, but Cornbury did the same again and again.

Tries to
suppress
Presby-
terianism

The great body of inhabitants both of the city and province, including nearly all the old and influential families, were either Presbyterians or members of the Dutch Reformed Church. But Cornbury refused to permit those ministers to officiate without a special license signed by himself. Two Presbyterian ministers from Virginia preached in the city without obtaining it, and he had them arrested and thrown into prison. When their trial came up, the judge, a pliant tool of Cornbury, advised the jury to bring in a special



THE OLD CITY HALL, WALL STREET, NEW YORK, BUILT 1700.

verdict, that the law applying to such cases might be determined; but they manifested their independence by promptly setting the prisoners free.

1703-19

In every quarter of the colony, the Governor exerted his authority to place his own denomination in possession of churches erected by the nonconformists. Wide-spread confusion ensued. Neighbor was arrayed against neighbor, and discord spread over the whole province.

Corn-
bury's
warfare
against
dissent-
ers

But his influence rapidly declined. Not content with the liberal grants of money made by the Assembly for his private use, he embezzled large sums appropriated for public buildings and defenses. At length, in 1709, his conduct had become so outrageous that it could no longer be endured. Complaints against him were constantly pouring in, not only from New York, but New Jersey as well. The Queen removed him, and appointed Lord Lovelace, the incapable and unpopular governor of New York from 1667 to 1673. No sooner was Cornbury out of office than his creditors had him arrested and thrown into prison, where he remained until the death of his father raised him to the peerage, when he was released and returned to England.

Sup-
planted
by Love-
lace

Lovelace died soon after reaching New York, and was succeeded by General Robert Hunter, a man of character and mental force; a friend of Swift, an author of some distinction, and a soldier of merit, having risen to the high position of major-general in the British army. His administration extended from 1710 to 1719, and he

Hunter
succeeds
Lovelace

1710-19

gained the reputation of being one of the ablest of the colonial governors. He was a man of good temper and discernment; but like all the official class of his age, he was greatly impressed with the power and rights of the royal prerogative.

Hunter's
govern-
orship

Hunter was first appointed governor of Virginia in 1707; but the ship on which he took passage for America was captured by a French privateer, and he and the crew were retained as prisoners for nearly two years. At length, being released, he was commissioned governor of New York and the Jerseys in 1710, and arrived in the metropolis in June of that year. He brought with him a colony of 2000 "Palatines" (Germans), who readily coalesced with the old Dutch population of New York.

Quarrel
over
salary

Hunter and the colonists were soon by the ears. Cornbury's rascalities had induced the Assembly to make annual appropriations only, and to guard carefully all expenditures; no arrangement had been made for the new governor's salary, and he was placed in a most embarrassing position. He was expected to maintain the dignity of his office, but was not provided with the means to meet the necessary expense. In this unhappy state he wrote a friend in England: "Here is the finest air to live upon in the universe: the soil bears all things, but not for me; for according to the custom of the country, the sachems are the poorest of the people."

Within a few months after his arrival, the governor was engaged in a hot dispute with the



GREAT SEAL OF NEW YORK, 1710-18.
Top, obverse ; bottom, reverse.

Assembly over the question of his salary. They would neither grant appropriations for more than a year, nor abandon the supervision of public expenditures by their own treasurer. He accordingly dismissed them. The fight lasted for months; and at length Hunter wrote to Lord Bolingbroke, warning him of what might be expected of the colonies in the near future. "The colonies are infants at their mother's breast," he said, "but will wean themselves when they become of age."

1710-19

Hunter
wrangles
with
Assembly

During the summer of 1711, Hunter secured a specific grant of bills of credit for £10,000 to pay the expenses of an invasion of Canada. But at the same time he made the mistake of laying before the Assembly a bill for taxing the province by Parliament. The bill was not pressed, and seems to have been intended mainly as a threat; but it aroused the stubborn opposition of the colonists, who refused to make any appropriations other than annually.

Over
taxation

The chief source of dispute was concerning the status of the Council, which the Assembly claimed was an advisory body only. The governor denounced their action, and reminded them that they had no right to any share in legislation except what came "from the mere pleasure of the prince." To this they replied that they possessed an "inherent right to enact legislation concerning their own affairs, "not from any commission or grant from the Crown, but from the free choice and election of the people, who ought not, nor justly can, be divested of their property without

And leg-
islation

1721-28

Hunter
objects to
popular
rights

their consent." But to a man of Hunter's training these sentences seemed outrageous; and he accordingly wrote to Bolingbroke as follows: "The mask is thrown off. The delegates have called in question the Council's share in the Legislature, trumped up an inherent right, declared the powers granted by her Majesty's letters-patent to be against law, and have but one short step to make toward what I am unwilling to name. Unless some speedy and effectual remedy be applied, the disease will become desperate."

Fore-
casts
rebellion

Governor Hunter observed that the population of New York had increased by one-third during Queen Anne's short reign of twelve years; and he asked "what the consequences were likely to be, when, upon such an increase, not only the support of the government, but the inclination to support it at all, decreases." These were the questions that the next generation took it upon themselves to answer in their own way. After nine years of contention Hunter gave up the struggle and returned to England, where he was appointed comptroller-general of customs. In 1727 he received a commission as governor of the island of Jamaica, and died there seven years later.

Suc-
ceeded by
Burnet

Hunter was succeeded by William Burnet, son of the famous Bishop Gilbert; born in Holland, and a godson of William of Orange. He served from September 1720 to the middle of April 1728. He was a man of superior talents and accomplishments, upright, scholarly, and socially attractive; but too apt, on his own frank confession, to "act

first and think afterwards." We are told that his official instructions were to keep alive the Assembly chosen several years before: it is difficult to say whether it is harder to believe this or to account for his doing it otherwise. This was the policy which under Berkeley in Virginia had led to the explosion of Bacon's Rebellion, and the home government would hardly have forced it upon Burnet, especially as the existent Assembly was so far from promising to be compliant that it was the very body which for years had been fighting Hunter. One would suppose that their and his first wish would be to try a new one. In some way, however, he made it docile to him, clung to it until it attained an official existence of eleven years, and shared the unpopularity such a body was sure to achieve and partly to deserve.

1720-8

Burnet's
"Long
Assembly"

With a view to extending British trade and influence westward, Governor Burnet established a trading-post at Oswego in 1722; and five years later, at his own expense, erected and armed a small fort there. This was the first time that the British colors had been planted on the Great Lakes. The act was a bold invasion of what the French claimed as an exclusive right; and it was vigorously protested against by the Canadian authorities, and several tribes of previously friendly Indians in close commercial relations with them. Frontenac had erected a stockade on the same spot twenty-six years before the coming of the English; but the latter, having made this advance, never receded until the British

Builds
fort at
Oswego

1722-8 flag was lowered to be replaced by the ensign of the great Republic.

Tries to
cut out
French
trade

Burnet had conceived the idea of closing all commercial relations with the French in Canada, and induced the Assembly to forbid the sale of goods to French traders. He would dispense with the French "middlemen," and transfer their gains to home merchants. This is a world-old class of folly which always fails as it should. The colonial merchants had built up a large and profitable commerce with the French agents. It was a wholesale or jobbing business in which the gains were secure, for the risk of individual transactions with the savages was not incurred. Our merchants, relying mainly upon the French, had founded but few agencies of their own to reach this trade. It would require years to open the way and regain what they were now about to lose.

Defeated
by New
York
merch-
ants

The Governor was denounced for pushing the measure through the Assembly. The merchants deemed it of such vital importance to have it defeated that they appealed to George I., now on the throne, for relief; and by the advice of the Lords of Trade, the royal assent to the measure was not granted. But the English retained their advanced position at Oswego in spite of all opposition, and far-reaching results followed from the deflection of the old trade lines and the marching of borders with the French.

A large increase of direct trade with a number of western tribes followed these events. The



GOVERNOR WILLIAM BURNET.

Five Nations, now the Six Nations by the accession of the Tuscaroras, were also induced to cede a portion of their country, and to enter into still more friendly relations with the colonists. These were no mean advantages, and should be credited to the energy and foresight of Burnet. But the opposition aroused by his course in general proved to be strong enough to secure his removal. A new Assembly was finally chosen, a majority of whose members were opposed to the Governor; and on the 15th of April 1728 he was transferred, much against his will, to Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

1722-8

Burnet's
Indian
successesSent to
England

In making the journey from New York to Boston, Governor Burnet chose the land route; and it is related that he was greatly annoyed by the long and sanctimonious graces at each meal where he stopped. On inquiring when these ceremonies would cease, one of his escort, a prominent citizen of Boston, replied: "Please your Honor, the graces will increase in length until you come to Boston; after that they will shorten till you come to your government of New Hampshire; there you will find no grace at all." New Hampshire Episcopalianism never tasted well in Congregational mouths.

Skit on
New
Hamp-
shire

Burnet made some figure in the literature of his day. He wrote a series of observations on astronomy, that were published in the "Transactions" of the Royal Society; his work on the fulfillment of prophecies in the book of Daniel very naturally roused a theological hornet's nest.

Burnet's
writings

1728-32 Burnet was succeeded as governor of New York by John Montgomerie, "Groom of the Bedchamber" to George while Prince of Wales, and accorded this commission immediately after the Prince's elevation to the throne. Montgomerie had the rare merit of being able to appreciate his own incapacity, as he declined to perform some important functions until officially required, on the ground of not possessing the necessary qualifications. Let us honor his memory. From his arrival on April 15, 1728, till his death July 1, 1731, no important events occurred. Then for over a year New York had no governor; the senior member of the Council, Mr. Rip Van Dam, acting in that capacity.

Mont-
gomerie's
modesty

Rip Van Dam Van Dam deserves more than a passing notice. He was a native of Albany, but in early manhood began his active business career in New York, and before Bellomont's advent in 1695 had established a large West India trade. Bellomont accused him of evading the customs laws, and seized several of his ships; whereupon Van Dam went into politics, was elected a member of the Assembly in 1699, and soon became the leader of the opposition. Cornbury appointed him to the Council, where he continued through the various changes of administration for nearly thirty years.

Governor Cosby On August 1, 1732, Colonel William Cosby arrived in New York with a royal commission as governor. Like so many of his predecessors, Cosby would have remained unknown to fame



RIP VAN DAM.

except for this appointment. During Van Dam's service as governor, he had drawn the salary of that office. Cosby now demanded that half the amount should be paid over to him. Van Dam refused to comply, and the matter was carried into the courts. Thereupon the case became an issue in politics; the aristocratic and official classes arraying themselves on the side of Cosby, while the people stood by Van Dam.

1732-3

Cosby
wants
Van
Dam's
salary

William Bradford had been public printer since 1693, and his sympathies were naturally, of course, with the government. October 16, 1725, he had printed the initial number of the *Weekly Gazette*, the first New York newspaper; in this he now took up the controversy between Cosby and Van Dam, and according to the custom of the times, abused, reviled, and lampooned Van Dam and his party most shamefully, while they were not allowed space or opportunity to reply. Hence in November 1733, Van Dam, Chief-Justice Lewis Morris, and James Alexander ¹ the famous

Brad-
ford's
paper his
mouth-
piece

¹ James Alexander was a Scotchman by birth, but was obliged to leave England about 1715 on account of his sympathies for the Pretender. He first located at Perth Amboy, N. J., where he became official recorder of the town. Subsequently he was appointed surveyor-general for New York and New Jersey; and having studied law at his leisure intervals, soon rose to eminence at the colonial bar. On the appearance of Zenger's paper, Alexander became one of its regular contributors; and when the printer was brought into court on a charge of libel, Alexander appeared as one of his counsel. For this he was disbarred the following year, but reinstated in 1736 on a change of administration. Alexander became very wealthy, and held many important offices. He was a friend of Franklin, and in conjunction with him and others founded the American Philosophical Society. His son, William Franklin Zenger Alexander, was the celebrated general "Lord Sterling" of Revolutionary fame.

1733-4 attorney, supplied funds and induced a printer named John Peter Zenger to start an opposition paper called the *Weekly Journal*. Zenger had worked in Bradford's office, and was fully competent to perform the duties required of him. The paper was vigorously conducted, and attacked the government officials with a virulence equal to Bradford's in their defense.

Zenger's
"Journal"

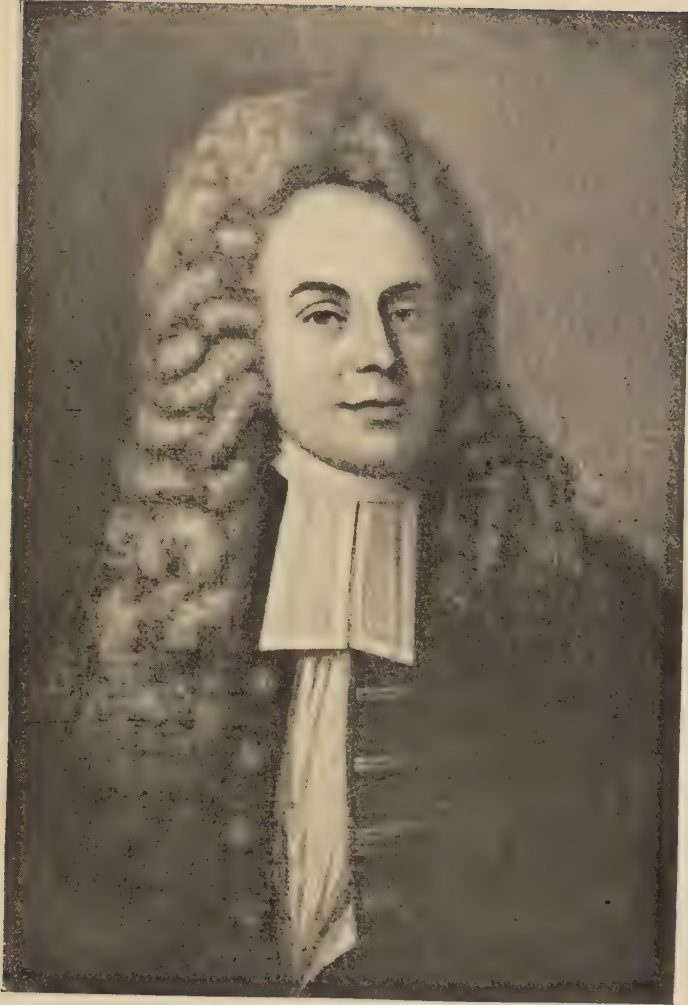
Attacks
Cosby

Zenger
imprisoned for
libel

At length Zenger's paper came out with a series of articles declaring that judges had been arbitrarily displaced, that new courts were erected without the consent of the legislature, and that these courts dispensed with jury trials when the Governor so directed. In our time, when all sorts of charges appear in the newspapers, but little attention would be paid to articles of that kind, except possibly to make an issue of them in the ensuing election. But it was very different at this period; and the fact that the charges were true only added to the offense in law. It is probable that Alexander wrote the articles, for they were above Zenger's capacity; but he was responsible for what appeared in his paper, and was accordingly arrested and thrown into jail (November 1634) on the charge of "printing and publishing several seditious libels."

Defendant's
counsel
disbarred

When the preliminary trial came on, Alexander and the other local attorney who appeared for the prisoner attacked the constitutionality of the court, and were disbarred. The grand jury refused to indict Zenger, and the Governor ordered him to be remanded to prison until the



ANDREW HAMILTON.

next term of the court. The whole colony was now up in arms against the arbitrary action. It was not a mere question of the guilt or innocence of a printer charged with libel; the liberty of the press and the right to tell the truth about maladministration was at stake.

1734-5

Andrew
Hamilton's
great
effort

At this juncture an appeal was made to the celebrated Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, the most distinguished lawyer of that date, and an earnest advocate of liberty. The attorney appointed by the court to defend Zenger was not a man of force, and it was feared that he might be overawed by the bench. Hamilton, who was already familiar with the conditions, volunteered to take charge of the defense without pay. He was then fifty-nine years of age, and in the prime of his mental and physical powers. His form and manners were commanding, and his face was singularly handsome,—smooth and oval like that of a woman. But his chief force lay in his eloquence as a speaker, an eloquence which aroused his hearers and carried conviction to the minds of the jurors.

When the trial came up, Hamilton admitted the charges against Zenger, but defended him on the ground that the accusations were true. This was a novel doctrine at the time, although it had been heard before. "You cannot be permitted," interrupted the chief justice, "to give the truth of a libel in evidence." "Then," Hamilton replied, "I will appeal to the jury as witnesses of the fact. The jury have a right

Estab-
lishes
new legal
principle

1735-6

to determine both the law and the fact, and they ought to do so. The question before you," he continued in his most impressive manner, "is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone; it is the cause of liberty—the liberty of opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing truth."

Effect of
Zenger's
acquittal

The effect of these bold utterances was marvelous. A vast crowd had collected to hear the eloquence of the great Philadelphia lawyer. Such a scene had never before been witnessed in a New York court. The judges were awed by the majesty of popular feeling; and the jury, after being out barely long enough to organize, brought in a verdict of "not guilty." Thereupon the enthusiasm of the people burst all restraint; and seizing Hamilton, they carried him in triumph on their shoulders through the principal streets. The corporation presented him with a gold snuff-box containing the freedom of the city; and when he departed for home, a salute of cannon was fired in his honor. His fame extended even to England, where a printed history of the trial passed through four editions in three months.

Andrew
Hamilton's
fame

Cosby's
death;
Van Dam
and the
Council

Cosby's spirit was broken by the result of this trial, which may have hastened his death soon afterward. Thereupon Van Dam again claimed the right by seniority to act as governor *pro tem*. He was vigorously supported by the popular party; but a majority of the Council opposed his claim, on the ground that he had forfeited his rights by refusing to attend their meetings during

the latter part of Cosby's administration. George Clarke, the next oldest member of the Council, was thereupon chosen lieutenant-governor, and governor *pro tem.* until some one bearing the King's commission should appear. Clarke had been sent to America by a friend, during the reign of Queen Anne, to mend his fortunes. It was said of him that he "had sagacity enough to see that the aristocracy possessed the offices of profit, and were supporters of the authority derived from England."

1736-43

Clarke
vs.
Van Dam

Both men now assumed the functions of office, and for a while civil war threatened the province. The excitement was wide-spread and intense. Clarke, who had command of the fort, put it in a state of defense, and prepared for a siege in case the dispute should go to that length. But before any riotous outburst of passion occurred, Clarke's pretensions were confirmed by a commission from England appointing him lieutenant-governor. His administration covered a period of seven years, from 1736 to 1743, and during the whole time the public was constantly disturbed by contentions between the executive and the Assembly. Clark's term of office, however, was marked by a number of measures highly advantageous to the province. The militia system was remodeled and improved; courts were established for the trial of petty suits, thus promoting the immediate interests of the people, the poor even more than the rich; the Indian trade was extended and placed on a broader and more

Clarke's
governor-
ship

1741 satisfying basis; and a precedent was established for annual appropriations by the Assembly for public expenses.

The
"Negro
Plot"

His administration, however, was principally distinguished by what was known as the Negro Plot of 1741. This was a senseless outburst of popular frenzy, brought on by the dread of an uprising among the negro slaves. Subsequent events proved that it was without foundation or reason; yet for several months the city was given over to mob violence and the most outrageous lawlessness.

In February 1741 the shop of Mrs. Hogg, in Broad Street, was robbed of some silver and a few articles of merchandise. The robbery was traced to negroes who were frequenters of a low resort and ale-house on North River, kept by one John Hughson. The negroes and Hughson and his wife were arrested. It was a commonplace affair, belonging to a class of crimes of almost daily occurrence in every large city; and would have been forgotten if subsequent events had not given it unmerited prominence. About two weeks after the commitment of the persons just named, a fire broke out in the roof of the governor's house; and the building, with several others adjacent to it, was destroyed. During the morning of the fire, a plumber had been engaged on the roof of the governor's house with a brazier of coals, mending a lead pipe. A high wind prevailed at the time, and it was naturally supposed that a spark or coal had been blown

out of the brazier and ignited the roof, which was composed of cedar shingles. No other prominence was given to the incident at the time. 1741

Several other fires in different parts of the city followed, as they were always doing; one or two suspicious and doubtless incendiary, a majority purely accidental. However, a panic seized upon the people. The "Negro Plot"

Shortly before these events, a Spanish ship had been captured at sea, with nineteen negroes on board. They spoke Spanish, and claimed to be freemen. However, they were brought to New York, condemned as prizes by the Board of Admiralty, and sold as slaves. They complained bitterly, and some of them made threats; but being helpless, they submitted with ill grace to their fate. Speaking the same language and being acquainted through their association on the ship, they naturally formed a little community among themselves, and kept aloof from the other slaves. In fact they constituted in their own estimation a sort of slave aristocracy, and held themselves above the common African negroes.

At the height of the excitement, a Mrs. Earle, while sitting at her window, observed three of the Spanish negroes passing her house on their way to Trinity Church. As they came opposite to where she was sitting, she overheard one of them exclaim, "Fire! Fire! Scorch a little, by and by." Then he threw up his hands and laughed. Mrs. Earle immediately sought her next-door neighbor, a Mrs. George, and imparted

1741 to her the startling information. Together they awaited the return of the negroes; and as they came back, Mrs. George recognized the one who had uttered the alarming expressions as "Mr. Walter's Quaco." The two ladies instantly sought an alderman, and he reported to the magistrates, with the result that poor Quaco was soon locked up in jail.

The
"Negro
Plot"

Then arose a wild cry of "The Spanish negroes! The Spanish negroes! The negroes are rising!" A hasty meeting of the Council followed, and an order was issued to arrest all the negroes who had been taken on the Spanish ship. While the Council was in session, flames were seen to issue from Colonel Philipse's storehouse near by. This was clearly the work of an incendiary, for the building had no chimney and no place for fire. While it was burning, a negro belonging to Philipse, named Cuff, was seen to jump from one of the windows and run away. He had no doubt been there for some evil purpose, a petty theft most likely; and may have started the fire to hide his lesser crime. At any rate, he did not seem to appreciate the enormity of his act, for he was found a few minutes later sitting quietly in the kitchen of his master's house. Cuff was taken in hand; and an order was also issued to arrest all negroes who were found on the streets, not omitting those who had assisted in putting out the Philipse fire. While these arrests were being made, several other fires broke out, and the people were driven into a frenzy of

terrified excitement. Every negro seen on the streets was instantly bound and carried off to prison. 1741

When "Walter's Quaco" was examined, he proved by his own testimony and that of his companions that when Mrs. Earle overheard them, they were talking about Admiral Vernon's capture of Porto Bello, news of which had just been received, and what would happen to the Spaniards by and by. Quaco was released on this evidence; but before the excitement abated he was rearrested and hanged.

The
"Negro
Plot"

By this time the jail was filled with terrified negroes, the streets were patrolled by armed soldiers, and the grand jury and supreme court were convened in special session to try the numerous cases. Every lawyer in the city, including Alexander, volunteered in behalf of the government, leaving the negroes wholly without counsel in their terrible extremity.

A convenient witness was found in the person of Mary Burton, a pretty young girl of easy character. The burden of her recital was to the effect that Cæsar, Prince, and Cuffee, the three negroes who were concerned in the robbery of Mrs. Hogg's shop, were not merely thieves, but arch-conspirators, who in conjunction with Hughson and wife had entered into a diabolical plot to capture and burn the fort, and then arm the negroes and destroy the city. When this was accomplished, all the white women were to be parceled out as wives among the negroes, while Hughson was to be king

1741 and Cæsar governor. For the requirements of this tremendous revolution, the conspirators had provided themselves with eight guns and some swords.

The
"Negro
Plot"

It is impossible to read this "evidence" now without a good deal of amusement; but it made a profound impression on the members of the grand jury. One of their number, who afterward became the historian of these events, declared that Mary Burton's evidence "was most astonishing to the grand jury, and could scarcely be credited." It was credited, like Titus Oates', because it fell at the right moment. They carried this evidence before the judges of the supreme court, who heard it and believed it—whereupon the entire bar of the city was summoned in consultation upon so startling an emergency!

A veritable reign of terror was now inaugurated among the negroes. All sorts of wild and absurd stories were set afloat. No sooner was a negro arrested than he began to make "confessions," implicating others of his race with a hope of saving his life. A poor black fellow known as "Roosevelt's Quack" was arrested, and charged with the specific crime of having fired the governor's house. It was decided that he should be burned at the stake. After the fagots had been piled about him, he was offered his freedom if he would tell all he knew.

Thereupon he proceeded to unfold a most marvelous story. He admitted the crime with which he was charged. He had burnt the governor's

house! The day before the fire occurred, he had taken a brand from his master's kitchen and placed it under a beam in the roof of the house. How he contrived to get there with his brand of fire he did not explain. The next day—twelve or thirteen hours afterward—observing that the house was still standing, he went again to the place where he had placed the brand, and blew it with his breath until it kindled into the roof! This crazy story was accepted as true. The mob howled for Quack's death, and he was immediately burnt at the stake.

1741

Negro
“con-
fessions”

The excitement lasted for two or three months, and during its continuance twelve negroes were burnt at the stake, eighteen were hanged, and seventy-two transported to be sold as slaves in other countries. Hughson and his wife were also hanged, stoutly proclaiming their innocence to the last, although they had previously made “confessions” under promise of clemency.

“Negro
Plot”
massa-
cres

Before the panic subsided, it degenerated into a religious persecution. The old dread of papacy once more possessed the minds of the people. While the excitement was at its height, Governor Clarke received a letter from Governor Oglethorpe of Georgia, in which he stated that he had received “some intelligence of a villainous design of a very extraordinary nature, and if true, very important.” This information, Oglethorpe declared, was to the effect that “the Spaniards had employed emissaries to burn all the magazines and considerable towns in North America,” and that for this

Fears
of new
Popish
plot

1741
Ogle-
thorpe's
letter

purpose "many priests were employed who pretended to be physicians, dancing-masters, and such other kinds of occupations." Oglethorpe closed his letter, however, by declaring that he had no faith in the rumors, and had been unable to find any confirmation of them among the Spanish prisoners whom he had captured.

Confirms
belief in
Popish
plot

This letter, coming in the midst of the excitement at New York, was accepted as positive evidence of the existence of such a plot as the one described. A new panic spread among all classes of the people. The town was searched for Catholic priests, who were supposed to be hidden in dark places. Men joined in the quest with much the same spirit that they would have gone forth to look for witches or demons. Not a priest was found in the entire city; but a poor, obscure, and inoffensive schoolmaster named John Ury was discovered, and taken into custody on suspicion.

Ury's life
sworn
away

He was now regarded as the chief conspirator of the whole diabolical plot. A new and very accommodating witness had also appeared upon the scene. This was another young girl, Sarah, daughter of Hughson, who was convicted with her father and mother, but had been several times reprieved and finally pardoned on condition that she would "tell all she knew." She proved a willing witness, ready to testify against any person whom the magistrates desired to convict. Mary Burton also, who had not referred to Ury in all her previous testimony, now remembered him as a frequent visitor at the Hughson house.

Poor inoffensive Ury was hanged. But the presence of the gallows seems to have overcome his diffidence, and inspired him with eloquence to plead his own cause. He appealed to God that he had never known Hughson or his wife; that he “never had any knowledge or confederacy with white or black as to any plot; and he furthermore declared that he was not a Catholic, but a non-juring minister of the Church of England.” But his eloquence had no effect on the minds or hearts of his executioners. He was launched into eternity while his pleading words were still ringing in their ears.

1741

Ury's execution

The frightful but silly tragedy culminated with the execution of Ury. An effort was made to revive the delusion the following spring, when an idiotic negro who had been accused of arson was hanged; but the public had by this time recovered from its cowardly apprehensions, and seemed ashamed of its former folly.

Ends
Popish
plot

There were many interesting changes in the colony of New York during the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Clarke. Between the date of Leisler's death and the end of Clarke's administration, a period of fifty-two years, the population of the province had increased from about 10,000 to more than 60,000 people. It was during this period that the settlements began to extend out into the picturesque region of the Mohawk Valley, one of the richest and most beautiful sections of the American continent. This movement was due largely to the religious persecutions that

New
York's
increase
1691-
1743

1743-53

were still in progress in some of the European nations. Most of the first settlers of the Mohawk country were religious refugees, Huguenots and Dutch Free Churchmen, who brought their sturdy manhood and love of liberty across the sea and planted them in the fertile soil of America.

Clinton
succeeds
Clarke

We are now drawing so close to the Revolutionary period, that many who appear on the scene of public action were participants also in the splendid episode of our nation's birth. Governor Clarke was succeeded in September 1743 (two years and three months after his commission) by George Clinton, an admiral in the British navy and father of that Sir Henry Clinton so prominent in the Revolution; second son of the Earl of Lincoln, a descendant of that Earl so interwoven with early Massachusetts history. His administration extended over ten years. Like so many royal governors, he came to America to improve his fortune; and if history is correct, he succeeded,—taking back to England, as the fruit of his ten years' labors in America, nearly half a million dollars.

Pomp of
provin-
cial gov-
ernors

The colonial governors of New York lived in regal style. When the governor appeared in public, he rode in a magnificent coach drawn by four horses, the whole resplendent with white and gold. Liveried footmen sat stiffly on the box, and the coach was usually preceded and followed by mounted soldiers to open the way and prevent the populace from approaching too near. The governor, being the King's viceroy, was the greatest man in the province, and consequently could

not pay visits; but his receptions were brilliant affairs. They were graced by the presence of the beauty and fashion of the metropolis. The governor occupied a little throne placed on a dais at one side of the reception hall, and each guest bowed several times as he approached. The whole affair was conducted in a semi-regal state, and the fashionables of the day were as eager to be presented as their descendants of modern times are to make their appearance at some European court.

1743-53

Splendors of gubernatorial state

Clinton's entire administration was a long struggle for the royal prerogative, ending in his defeat and humiliation by the representatives of the people. The leader of the liberal party at this time was James De Lancey, chief justice of the province; a man of learning and ability, and sincerely devoted to the interests of the people. Hoping to win this influential man over to his side, Clinton chose him as his confidential adviser—and regretted the step during the remainder of his administration. De Lancey very readily gave his advice, but it was always against the kingly prerogative. Clinton was anxious about his salary. He wanted the old five-year appropriations restored. He dreaded to remain at the mercy of the Assembly by having his salary dependent upon their willingness to make the necessary annual appropriations. They could coerce him into compliance with their wishes any time they chose to do so by simply refusing to make the appropriations. This system stripped him of all independence, and left the government virtually in the

Clinton takes De Lancey for adviser

Salary question ties Clinton's hands

1743-53 hands of the Assembly, and the people whom they represented.

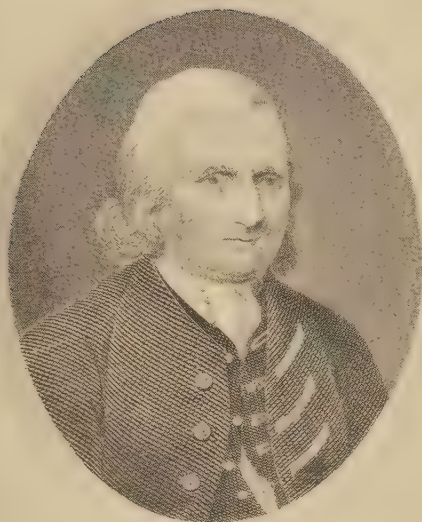
This was precisely where De Lancey preferred that the power should remain. Accordingly, when the Governor appealed to him in the matter, he advised him to let it alone. It would be unwise to place himself in opposition to the will of the Assembly at the beginning of his administration. Wait and see what the future would bring forth. If he governed well—as of course he would, reasoned De Lancey—they would not oppose his wishes. If trouble arose between him and the Assembly, it would be time enough then to adjust the matter. De Lancey was shrewd; and likewise clever. He wound the Governor around his fingers, and entangled him in a network of legislation until he could move neither hand nor foot. Then he delivered him over to the mercy of the Assembly, and smiled at his discomfiture.

De Lan-
cey's
crafty
advice

Para-
lyzes
Clinton

It was likewise through De Lancey's influence that the Governor was induced to give his assent to a measure that virtually deprived him of the power of making appointments without the consent of the Assembly: that all public salaries should be paid to the individuals named in the appropriation bills, rather than to the offices occupied by such persons. Thus the pay expired with the term of the holder, and the new incumbent was at the mercy of the Assembly until they chose to relieve his embarrassment by granting him a salary. Likewise, the power to withhold salaries from the governor's appointees amounted almost

Also in
appoint-
ments



Cadwallader Colden

CADWALLADER COLDEN

to the same thing as dictating whom he should appoint—certainly whom he should *not*.

1743-53

The Governor was not long in discovering how completely he had placed himself in the power of the Assembly. Then he quarreled with De Lancey, and chose Dr. Cadwallader Colden in his stead. This only added fuel to the flames. Colden was the senior member of the Council, and an intense royalist. So firmly did he believe in the royal prerogative, that he had written and spoken in favor of levying a permanent tax on the colonies by the home government. It was but natural that such a man should be very unpopular with the Assembly and the people. Later, in 1761, Lord Halifax, in return for his “zeal for the rights of the Crown,” appointed him lieutenant-governor; and while such he became the custodian of the paper intended for use under the Stamp Act.

Clinton
makes
Colden
his
adviserWho is
odious to
people

The Governor now sought to retrieve his former mistakes, and recover the power he had unwittingly surrendered through what seemed to him the trickery of De Lancey. In going about the matter he likewise manifested an evil spirit of resentment, and thus laid by an additional stock of ill-will for himself.

When the Assembly brought their money bills before the Governor for his signature, he acted upon the advice of Colden, and refused to sign them until he was guaranteed a permanent support, and salaries were made payable to the office instead of the individual. The Assemblymen met his proposal with an inflexible determination.

And
urges
Clinton
into
deadlock

1743-53 They could afford to withhold appropriations a great deal better than he could manage to get along without money. If he did not choose to sign the bills, he could have his own way; and they likewise have theirs.

Clinton
beaten
by As-
sembly

The contest lasted for two years. The longer it continued, the better were the Assemblymen pleased; for when they had no salaries to pay, the tax rate was reduced. The governor fretted and fumed, and threatened them with the royal prerogative. He wrote home that they were an "insolent, malicious, and flagitious faction," aiming to get the whole power of government into their own hands, and would be satisfied with nothing less than independence. At length he yielded and signed the bills. It was a full and complete surrender on his part, for the Assembly gave up nothing. Having surrendered at discretion, Clinton now proceeded to show his lack of intelligent finesse by proroguing the Assembly and dismissing objectionable councilmen.

Forced to
make De
Lancey
his
second

To make matters worse, Clinton did not receive that support from the home government which he felt he had a right to expect. They increased the burden of his embarrassment by disregarding his wishes. In one particular instance they humiliated him almost beyond endurance. This was in the appointment of De Lancey as lieutenant-governor. When the commission came, Clinton put it in his pocket, where it remained for more than a year. Meanwhile he sent pathetic appeals to the government not to humiliate him by elevating his bitterest

enemy to a position of influence second only to his own. But his appeals were unheeded, and on the eve of his departure for England he was compelled to smother his indignation and deliver the commission to De Lancey. Thus passed away the entire ten years of Clinton's administration. It was a perpetual contest between him and the Assembly, in which the latter always won.

1743-53

Clinton's
humil-
iation

The year after the beginning of Clinton's administration, war again broke out between England and France, and necessarily involved the colonies. The Governor was at Albany when the news came. In anticipation of the event, he had already doubled the garrison at Oswego; and he now held a conference with the sachems of the Six Nations and renewed the treaty with them. They declared that they would not only take up the hatchet and renew the hunt for scalps, but they would refuse to admit any more French priests to their country.

War of
1744-8

Governor Clinton sent a circular letter to all the colonies, urging them to act in concert in the impending struggle. His advice was heeded, and a considerable army was assembled at Albany during the summer of 1744, the command of which was tendered to Lieutenant-Governor Gooch of Virginia. But he declined in favor of Governor Clinton, the rendezvous being in the latter's jurisdiction. This war lasted until the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

The principal event of the war of 1744-48 was the capture of Louisbourg, an account of which is given in the history of Massachusetts.

1744-8 Only a few unimportant events occurred in New York. The fight between Clinton and the Assembly had reached its acute stage. The latter refused to grant appropriations to pay the troops, on the ground that the benefits would be shared by the other colonies; but their real motive was opposition to the Governor's dictation. Jealousy of the other colonies had probably something to do with their action also; for this spirit was very bitter at the time, and continued so until after the colonies had come together under the Constitution of the United States.

Faction
fight
para-
lyzes
action
against
enemy

Many influential persons in New York favored a policy of neutrality on the part of the colonies, so as to avoid a desolating and expensive war with the French and Indians of Canada. This class had its principal strength at Albany, and was composed mainly of merchants and traders whose business would be ruined by the war. Clinton attacked them viciously, asserting that they regarded their trade in rum and peltries as of more consequence than the safety of the province or their allegiance to the king. But in any event the policy they advocated would have been impossible. No matter how willing the colonists might have been to let Canada alone, the French would not have suffered them to remain in peace. War having been declared by the home countries, it must of necessity extend to their respective colonies; and Clinton was right in desiring to place the country on a safe basis of defense.

Business
interests
favor
selfish
isolation

In the spring of 1745, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts applied to New York for assistance in his contemplated effort against Louisbourg. Clinton urged the Assembly to respond liberally with men and money, on the ground that the expedition if successful would probably end the war. It was therefore of as much importance to New York as to Massachusetts. But the Assembly took a different view of the matter. Louisbourg was nearer Massachusetts than it was to New York; and if Massachusetts wanted to capture this great French stronghold, they were welcome to the glory as well as the gain. The Assembly accordingly contributed nothing in men, and voted a meagre supply of £3000 in money. The Governor thereupon sent several pieces of cannon to the Massachusetts forces at his own expense; but the act produced no responsive emulation on the part of the Assembly. They remained deaf to all his appeals.

Finally Clinton dissolved the House and ordered a new election. About the time the new Assembly came together, news was received of the capture of Louisbourg. This had a stimulating effect on the members, and they voted £5000 as additional aid to the enterprise. But this was the end of their effort. They were no more responsive to the wishes of the Governor than their predecessors had been. He complained that they were "selfish, jealous of the power of the Crown, and of such leveling principles that they were constantly attacking its prerogatives."

1745-6

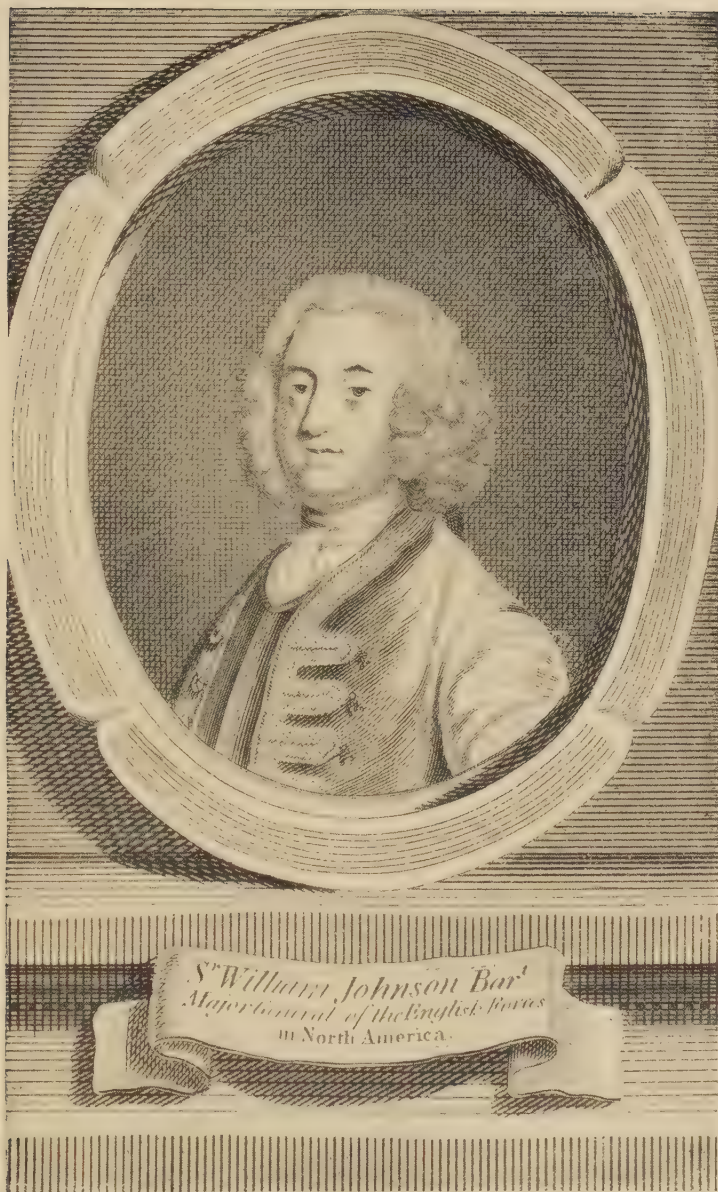
New York
refuses
help
against
Louis-
bourgUntil
it is
captured

1746 One of the incidents of this war was the capture of the fort at Saratoga, including its destruction, with that of the village, which consisted of about twenty houses. This occurred in November 1746. Thirty persons were killed, and about sixty carried away as captives by the Indians. This event did not incite the Assembly to renewed activity. It was regarded merely as a minor event of Indian warfare, as it proved to be; for it was not followed by other movements of any consequence.

Massacre of Saratoga

Sir
William
Johnson

It was during this year (1746) that a man famous in the colonial history of not alone New York but America first came into prominence as a leader. Reference is made to William Johnson, subsequently knighted by George II. He was a native of county Meath in Ireland, and had been educated for a commercial career; but meeting with disappointment in a love affair, he came to New York to seek oblivion and consolation in the wilderness of the Western Continent. His uncle, Sir Peter Warren, had married a daughter of Stephen De Lancey, and received through her a large estate in the province, which he subsequently increased by purchases of lands in the Mohawk Valley. Sir Peter offered the management of his estates to his nephew if he would undertake their improvement. The offer was not only a tempting one, but it suited the young man's ambition to go beyond the limits of civilization. He accordingly accepted it, and in 1738 located on a tract of land on the south



side of the Mohawk River, about twenty-four miles west of Schenectady. Here Sir Peter had caused a few cabins to be erected, and named the place Warrensburgh.

The surroundings were sufficiently wild to suit the romantic fancy of the young Irishman, and he entered upon the discharge of his duties with an enthusiasm that soon made him forget the bright face of the fickle sweetheart he had left on the Emerald Isle. He had but few white companions; he preferred the independent red men of the forest as his intimate associates. He acquired their language and adopted most of their customs, frequently appearing among them clad in the Indian costume. The Six Nations manifested their appreciation of his complaisance by adopting him into one of their tribes, and bestowing upon him the title of "Warraghia-ghy," meaning "he-who-has-charge-of-affairs." Subsequently he was advanced to the position of sachem in the Iroquois confederacy, and ever afterward exercised a great influence over them.

Sir
William
Johnson

About the close of the Seven Years' War, the King granted Sir William a tract of 100,000 acres of land north of the Mohawk, which was long known as Kingsland or the Royal Grant. Here in 1764 he built a mansion, and called it "Johnson Hall." The building is still standing, near the present village of Johnstown in Fulton County. Sir William had by this time acquired a considerable fortune, and lived in the style of an English baron, dispensing the most unbounded

Mansion
in Johns-
town

Sir
William
Johnson

hospitality. As early as 1739 he had taken as a mistress Catharine Weissenburg; daughter of a German farmer, whom when dying he married. She died young, leaving him two daughters and a son. The latter was knighted in 1765, and became prominent as a Tory leader during the Revolution. Sir William never married again; but he had many mistresses, both Indian and white, and left numerous descendants in central New York. During the latter part of his life he took to his home Molly Brant, sister of the famous Mohawk sachem, who bore him eight children. These he provided for in his will, as his "natural children."

John-
son's in-
effective
move-
ments

When Governor Clinton was organizing his army at Albany, he appealed to Sir William to exercise his influence in favor of the English among the Six Nations, and other tribes that by their location and associations were disposed to be friendly. He complied with the request, and soon brought a considerable army of savages to Albany. But the war languished, and the troops remained inactive. This did not suit the red men, who were eager for scalps and plunder; and for the purpose of keeping them in hand, Sir William led them in an attack on Crown Point. His force being inadequate, he met with a repulse, after which the greater part of the Indians dispersed and returned to their villages.

Meanwhile the white troops were without pay and poorly fed. The Assembly persisted in its refusal to make the necessary appropriations,

and finally the army broke into open mutiny. In order to pacify the soldiers, Governor Clinton was compelled to draw on England for large sums. His drafts were honored, order was restored, and soon afterward peace was proclaimed.

1746-53

The Governor now asked the Assembly to provide for a force of eight hundred men, to protect the settlers on the frontier against Indian raids. They refused, as usual. Thereupon he called out the militia of New York City, and had his order read at the head of the ranks, commanding them to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice. The result is thus described in a letter which he wrote soon afterward to the Duke of Newcastle: "Every man unanimously refused to obey any orders from the Crown, unless an act of Assembly was passed in the Province for that purpose; which shows how well my opinion of their leveling, and the republican principles, has been grounded from time to time."

Militia
refuse
to obey
Clinton

Finally, in 1753, Sir Danvers Osborne arrived in New York to relieve Clinton, who gladly transferred his responsibilities to the shoulders of his successor. They proved to be heavier than that gentleman could bear, for the second day after his inauguration he sought relief in suicide. Thereupon Clinton was compelled to undergo the mortification of handing to De Lancey the commission of lieutenant-governor which he had so long withheld, and to suffer the profound humiliation of seeing his old enemy assume the reins

Osborne
super-
sedes
him and
kills
himself

De Lan-
cey
becomes
chief

1743
et seq.

of government before he could set sail for England, to find solace there in the large fortune he had acquired in America.

How
colonial
officers
grew rich

The late Governor Clinton had not taken his departure from New York before the Assembly formally impeached him, for "embezzling public funds and concealing it by false accounts; for gaining undue profits from extravagant grants of lands, and grants to himself under fictitious names; and for selling civil and military offices." These accusations reveal the methods by which the royal governors contrived to enrich themselves at the expense of the colonies; and explain how it was possible for Clinton to amass a fortune of more than \$400,000 in the short period of ten years, on a salary of £1000. The articles of impeachment were forwarded to the home government, which paid no attention to them.

Frank-
lin's
story of
Clinton

Franklin gives us a little glimpse of official life and conduct in New York during the period of Clinton's administration. It was soon after the declaration of the four-years' war between France and England. The people of Philadelphia had organized a regiment of militia, of which Franklin was at first chosen colonel; but having no taste for the military profession, he declined it in favor of another citizen. A battery had also been established on the west bank of the Delaware a short distance below the city, and a few old iron cannon that had been purchased in Boston placed therein. Franklin and two others were then sent as a committee to

New York, to borrow cannon from Governor Clinton. The result of the interview is best told in the language of the philosopher himself:—

“He at first refused us peremptorily,” says Franklin; “but at dinner with his Council, where there was great drinking of Madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanced to ten; and at length he very good-naturedly conceded eighteen. They were fine cannon, eighteen-pounders, with their carriages, which we soon transported and mounted on our battery, where the associators kept a nightly guard while the war lasted; and among the rest I regularly took my turn of duty there as a common soldier.”

Frank-
lin's
story of
Clinton

We have now reached a period in the history of New York where the affairs of the province blend with those of the other colonies. A brief review of social conditions at this time will form a fitting close to our subject.

A distinguished writer of that date gives us a very agreeable account of the state of the province and its inhabitants, in those words:

“I must needs say that if there be a terrestrial Canaan, 'tis surely here. The inhabitants are blessed with peace and plenty; blessed in their country, blessed in the fruit of their bodies, and the fruit of their grounds; blessed in their basket and in their store; in a word, blessed in whatsoever they take in hand, or go about; the earth yielding plentiful increase to all their painful labor. . . .

General
sketch of
New York

Eulogy of
colonial
New York

There a wagon or cart gives as good content as a coach; and a piece of their home-made cloth better than the finest lawns or silks; and though their low-roofed houses may seem to shut their doors against pride and luxury, yet how do they stand wide open to let charity in and out, either to assist each other or to relieve a stranger! And the distance of place from other nations doth secure them from the envious frowns of ill-affected neighbors, and the troubles which usually arise thence."

Its great
trade

By the middle of the period which we are now considering, the population of the province of New York had increased to more than 70,000 persons, of whom about 7000 were negro slaves. The city of New York controlled almost the entire trade, not only of that province, but likewise of Connecticut and New Jersey. There was a steady stream of commerce up and down the Hudson and its tributaries and along the shores of the bays and inlets, seeking exchange in the warehouses and shops of the opulent New York merchants. The flags of all nations were seen flying from the mast-heads of the finest and largest ships of the day, as they lay at the busy docks or rode at anchor in the bay. The commerce of the world had turned toward this great American metropolis, and was pouring its treasures into the laps of the happy and contented people.

Religion

A majority of the inhabitants were Presbyterian Independents. The gulf between Protestants and Catholics was then very wide, and but few of the latter were to be found in the English

colonies. The religious intolerance and persecutions in Europe had driven apart and made bitter enemies of those who should have had no thought but brotherly love. The Episcopalians were the only sect who held a charter from the Assembly. This was due to the fact that they belonged to the state church of England, and exercised a large influence over the royal representatives in the colonial government. The Episcopal minister of New York received a salary of £1000 a year, which was collected by a tax levied on all the inhabitants of the city; a manifest injustice, first introduced by Governor Fletcher. As the Episcopal clergy became more numerous, they endeavored to monopolize the privilege of solemnizing all marriages in the province; but were unable to carry this pretension into effect by reason of the opposition of the other churches.

Religious
conditions in
New York

Dutch manners and customs prevailed for many years. In fact, they still exist in a modified form in those sections of the State where the original Dutch population predominated. They were manifest in the sobriety of deportment and the economy and domestic cleanliness that characterized these people and their descendants. It was often remarked by visitors during the later colonial era that the style of living was less gay and expensive, and there was less inequality in the fortunes of the people of New York, than at Boston, Newport, Charleston, and the other colonial cities.

The
Dutch
blood

The Scotch, of whom there were many in the province, were likewise a frugal and industrious

The
Scotch
element

race. They prospered almost equally with the Dutch, but were not so greatly distinguished for immaculate cleanliness. A writer of that period observes of them: "They preserve unaltered the character which they brought with them. They are industrious, frugal, orderly, patient of hardship, persevering, attached to government, reverential to religion, generally moral, and often pious. At the same time they are frequently unwarrantably self-complaisant, rigid in their dispositions, unbending in their opinions, sequestered, avaricious, ready to unchurch those who differ from them, and to say, "doubtless we are the people." The traits are not uncharacteristic.

Heavy
drinking

Excessive drinking was a common failing with all the colonists, but this weakness was less prominent among the Dutch than almost any other race. They drank heavily of beer and the lighter wines, while the English, Scotch, and Irish drank rum and other strong liquors. The amount of drinking was truly astonishing. A bill-of-fare of a colonial hotel has been preserved, in which it is stated that each guest will be entitled to a *quart of "toddy"* at dinner, without extra charge, but any amount in excess of a quart would be added to the bill! All the men drank, and so did most of the women. Ministers said grace over their Madeira and their brandy and water. Every entertainment had from a dozen to thirty or more "toasts," at each of which liberal potations of rum or Madeira were swallowed. After the union of the colonies, a series of thirteen toasts became very fashionable, with as

many to follow as the guests might be able to carry away with them.

Slaves are said to have been treated with greater leniency in New York than any of the other provinces: as the same statement is always made of every other province or state, the choice of opinions is ample. Their lot was hard enough. Refractory slaves were transported to Jamaica, or some of the Spanish West India islands; this punishment was regarded with the utmost dread, and the threat generally sufficed to coerce the most unruly spirit. Materially, of course their life was much better than on cotton or sugar plantations: it was largely domestic or artisan service, which is never as cruel as in field gangs. They had much actual freedom; their food was usually the same as their masters', and their clothing, though coarser and worse cut, was warm and comfortable. But there were harsher features. By a law of 1702, slaves were forbidden to gather in larger numbers than three, except when at labor; this however was only enforced at need. Masters were encouraged by law to baptize their slaves, but baptism should not entitle them to freedom. Manumission was discouraged by heavy fine, being regarded as both dangerous and immoral. Slaves were not permitted to testify in the courts, except when their own class was concerned.

Condi-
tion of
slaves

The local government was vested in a governor, a Council, and an Assembly. The governor, appointed by the King, was paid by the province. His duties were both civil and military. He was

Govern-
ment

The gov-
ernment

commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the province, and head of the government in all respects. He was empowered to prorogue or dissolve Assemblies at his pleasure; to appoint judges of the courts; to bestow vacant benefices; and with the advice of the Council, to make grants of lands.

The members of the Council were appointed by the Crown, but they might be suspended or dismissed by the government subject to royal approval. They acted as his privy council, and also performed the legislative and judicial functions belonging to the English House of Lords; but they received no salary. The Assembly, with the concurrence of the Council and the governor, might enact laws not repugnant to English jurisprudence, which should be transmitted to England within three months from the date of their enactment. Its members were elected from freeholders possessing improved lands or tenements to the value of £40. For their attendance they were paid ten shillings per day, equivalent to five or six dollars now, and regarded as a liberal remuneration. The governor at the same time was receiving a salary and perquisites amounting to more than \$15,000 per annum, with a free house, and other opportunities for enrichment that made his office one of the most desirable which could be imagined.

Courts

Besides the subordinate courts, there was a supreme court in New York, which passed final judgment on all provincial cases. The chief justice had a salary of £300 per annum, paid out of the general revenues.

CHAPTER XXX.

VIRGINIA TO THE FRENCH AGGRESSION

After the resignation of Richard Cromwell, the reaction in England in favor of monarchy came on like a swelling tide. On the 8th of May, 1660, Charles II. was proclaimed king, and no one seemed disposed to raise his hand against the popular enthusiasm. Charles was able to say, as he rode into London, that had he foreseen the joy of his subjects on his return, *he would have come long before!* This meagre witticism had a better foundation in fact than do most of the royal *mots*. 1660

The Res-
toration

No sooner had the affairs of the home kingdom settled to a calm than the King looked abroad and considered Virginia. He had perhaps already agreed to replace in authority his old friend Sir William Berkeley, when he should have power, and was pleased that the colonists had anticipated him. On the 31st of July, in the year of his accession, he sent a new commission, authorizing Berkeley to hold his position in the name of the Crown. Than this, no message might be more agreeable to Sir William, who from this date became again the royal governor of the province.

Berkeley
also re-
stored

As for the inhabitants of Virginia, they seem to have been thrown into some trepidation at the

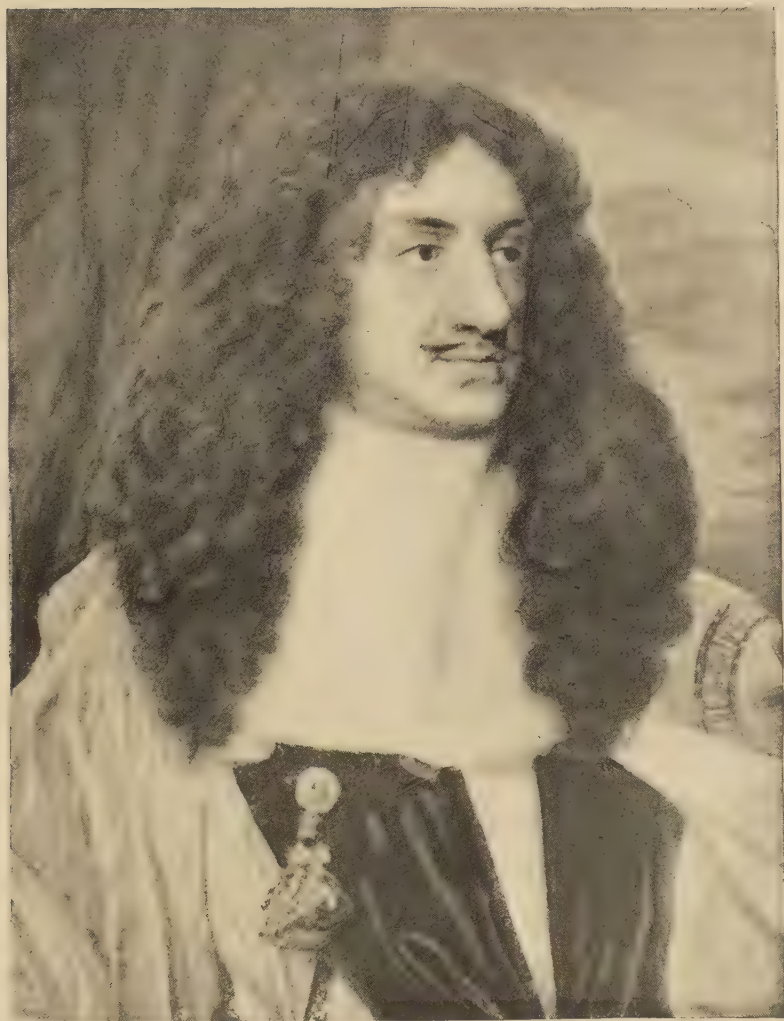
1660

Alarm in
Virginia

recovery of the throne by Charles Stuart. However sturdy they may have been in contending for democratic liberties, they nevertheless trembled at the approach of the Lord's anointed. For the time they indulged in the usual fallacies of fear. Would not his gracious Majesty now descend upon them and punish them for their long and grievous defection? How could they ever have been guilty of submitting to the usurpations of Parliament and Oliver Cromwell? Should not something be done by the authorities to prove to his Majesty that they, the Virginians, had always been *at heart* loyal to his cause?

Placatory
address to
the King

In March of 1661, the same Assembly which had worked in harmony with Samuel Matthews in the cause of colonial liberty, passed an appropriation of forty thousand pounds of tobacco to pay the expense of a message and a messenger to the King's court, praying him to pardon them for the shameful thing which they had done. They told his Majesty of their grief and repentance, and of their purpose to observe henceforth and forever, as a day of fasting and prayer, the dark 30th day of January, in commemoration of the event in which the execrable power of a usurper had prevailed to massacre "the late King Charles the First of blessed and glorious memory." Moreover, the 29th day of May, 1660, should be commemorated by them as a holiday in Virginia, that being the anniversary of the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors. This message was committed to the



CHARLES II.

hands of Governor Berkeley, and by him presented to the King.

1660-2

As soon as the Restoration brought a calm, the Virginians again began to consult about their commercial interests and civil rights. When Governor Berkeley in the latter part of April, 1661, was sent to England bearing the address of the Virginia Assembly, he was authorized also to present the protest of that body against the Navigation Act of 1650. Not to be without a Governor *ad interim*, the Virginians elected Francis Morrison (or Moryson) to serve during the absence of Sir William in England. The latter returned in the fall of 1662, having carefully attended to the matter of the colonial address, but without success in the matter of the Navigation Act. Sir William had a prevailing energy in those things which he really wished to promote, but was not expert in forwarding adverse opinions! His own interests were not overlooked on his mission; for when he returned to Virginia he was armed with a land patent so ample as to make him in any event the first gentleman in the province. Moreover, through his influence, William Claiborne, the efficient Secretary of State, was deposed, and Thomas Ludwell was appointed in his stead.

Berkeley
goes to
England

Feathers
his nest
and
appoints
allies

From this time forth the monarchial reaction went bravely on. The movements in the home kingdom were caught up in Virginia. Sir William Berkeley appointed the late provisional governor Morrison and Henry Randolph, clerk

1660
et seq.
Expurga-
tion of
the
records

of the Assembly, to review the colonial records and prepare amendments to the laws, to the end that all references which might keep alive the history of the departure of the colonists from loyalty to the king, during the interval of the Commonwealth, might be expunged from the books.

Puritan
flight
from
England

Just as the overthrow of the monarchy had led to an exodus of royalists, part of whom fled to the Continent while many sought refuge in Virginia, so did the Restoration of monarchy inspire to flight the men who had participated in the Revolution. It was now the turn of the Puritans to find asylum in foreign countries. In the nature of things, however, it was New England rather than Virginia that gained the greater increment of population from the counter revolution of 1660. It does not appear that the Virginians *lost* any considerable number of royalists by the return of their party to power in England.

Con-
tinued
immigra-
tion of
royalists

A new country in the course of a few years satisfies the immigrants which its attractions first wooed to settle therein; and having satisfied, it retains. Immigrants even to Utopia do not often have the mind of returning to the land from which they have gone out. So Virginia in the Restoration continued to gain rather than to lose their inhabitants. The people could but see that in the interval of the English Revolution, when they had been left almost absolutely to their own activities and ways, they had gained more than

ever before. Now, when their King came back, they would, as they thought, make greater progress than under the Parliamentary ascendancy. So much headway had been made that at the time of the Restoration the population approximated thirty thousand souls. It is said that the immigrant royalists, departing from their idleness and vicious habits and giving themselves to useful industries and laudable ambitions, became in a few years the most honorable, as they were the most honored, class of citizens.

1660
et seq.

Popula-
tion of
Virginia

Much has been said about the attractions with which the beautiful country drew to its embraces the adventurous elements of English society in the seventeenth century. The climate of Virginia as contrasted with that of England must have deeply impressed the men of that age, as it continues to impress the visitants and travelers of the nineteenth century. No doubt something of the freshness of Nature has passed away in the interval of two hundred and fifty years. In a new land Nature has the peach's bloom on all of her features. Natural beauties seen on every hand can but impress the senses of the beholder with the supreme loveliness of the things that come of themselves. Or, passing from the beautiful to the useful, there were many things which the Virginians might easily obtain out of the fruitfulness of the fresh earth and the abundance of the forests and waters. The valleys of the Virginia rivers teemed with animal life. The faculties of man became calm in the contemplation of

Natural
charms

1660
et seq.

the new existence, and more ennobling ambitions rose in the place of the exhausted passions of the old world.

Cheap
Virginia
lands

Cheap land is one of the primary conditions of happiness and freedom. Lands, which by their costliness preclude the humble from occupation save as tenants and slaves, are the invariable concomitant of unhappiness and vice. Where landholding is easy, subserviency, weakness, and crime do not flourish. Where landholding is difficult, the hope of man fades out, and his ambitions degenerate into intrigues. Virginia at the time of the Restoration still held out free lands to the immigrants who sought her valleys; she made the new-comers at home; she gave them abundance and manhood.

Berke-
ley's gov-
ernment

After Sir William Berkeley got his third administration under way, the prosperity of Virginia was unimpeded for a period of more than ten years. As to the principles of his government not much may be said in commendation; but his capacity to administer cannot be doubted. There was no general abolition of the public liberties, but the chief conduct of affairs rested in the hands of the governor and his executive council of sixteen members, who held office under royal commissions. Before this body every civil cause involving more than seventy-five dollars was adjudicated. All minor causes were tried in the county courts, before which the proceedings were conducted and maxims accepted according to the precedents of English law.



SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY.



LADY BERKELEY.

The General Assembly regained its original constitution; two burgesses were elected from each borough by universal suffrage. The sittings of the Assembly were annual, if the Wyatt constitution be followed. The body had exclusive jurisdiction in the levying of taxes. To the Assembly all appeals were presented—though its decision in such cases was not final until approved by the representative of the Crown, generally the Lord Chancellor of the kingdom. There was a military service to which all citizens were subject. The freemen of each county must meet and be drilled once a month. It was estimated that the colony in 1670 was able to call out a military force of eight thousand mounted men. Virginia at this time was guarded by five forts, upon the battlements of which thirty cannon were mounted.

1660-70

Berkeley's government

The social and economic condition of Virginia in the year 1670 may be known from the report made by Sir William Berkeley at that date to the body known as the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations. According to Sir William's footings the colony then contained a total population of forty thousand. Of this aggregate, about two thousand were black slaves, and six thousand were white servants. The greater part of the people were engaged in the cultivation of tobacco. There were, however, quite a number of small domestic manufactures. Perhaps more than nine-tenths of the inhabitants were tillers of the soil, and all were dependent on the product of the soil for subsistence.

Conditions in 1670

At this time the annual exportation of tobacco from the Virginia plantations amounted to fifteen thousand hogsheads, each hogshead weighing about eight hundred pounds. The export duty on this very respectable output was two shillings the hogshead; and from this source the Governor's salary of six thousand dollars a year was paid. As for the Crown, the only source of revenue thereto was the quit-rent on the lands. Every fifty acres was assessed a shilling for the royal treasury. Nor could this tax be regarded as onerous in view of the fact that the existing homestead law gave to each settler, removing to the colony at his own expense, a tract of fifty acres. The same right was extended to the members of the settler's family, each and several. The ministers of the parishes, now increased to forty-eight, were supported from the public treasury.

Results
of Navigation
Act

The one uncertain element in the industrial condition of Virginia was the diminishing price of tobacco. The most serious result of the Navigation Act was, that that monopoly resulted in a great reduction in the price of that commodity and the consequent increase in the price of all imported goods. The act of 1650 was amended under the Restoration, but the new statute proved to be more hateful than the one which it supplanted. The new law provided that all the colonial commerce, whether exports or imports, should be carried on in English ships. It also required the payment of an export duty on all articles sold from one colony into another colony. The tobacco

of Virginia should be sold in no country except England. The result was the virtual destruction of competition among the buyers of tobacco, and the consequent decline in price. Against this the Virginians remonstrated, but in vain.

1660-70

After the first burst of enthusiasm over the Restoration of Charles II., the Virginians discovered that they had exchanged a republican tyrant with good principles for a monarchical tyrant with bad ones. The loss entailed on the colony by the transaction was but poorly compensated with the gain in glory. The circumstances of the Restoration seemed to warrant King Charles in the assumption that not only the home kingdom, but also the outlying colonies of the kingdom, were his personal property.

Ill effects
of Resto-
ration

For some time after his accession Charles gave a considerable part of his energies to the administration of affairs. Then he wearied of duty, and became more than ever a profligate. In order to gratify his desires he surrounded himself with corrupt courtiers, who to the end of pleasing his Majesty converted the court into a hot-bed of vice and extravagance. Such a spectacle there prevailed as had never before been known in England. Charles found a gratification in making his courtiers as rich as they were vain. In moments of generosity he gave to them vast possessions, because it pleased him to do so. The broad lands of Virginia seemed especially subject to this abuse. The King gave away estates to whom he would—and not only the unoccupied lands of the

Charles'
prodi-
gality

1662-73

Virginia
granted
away

province, but in many cases those lands which had been already converted into farms. The method of Charles seemed to be a short road to the establishment of an English landed aristocracy in Virginia, with a tenant peasantry to cultivate the estates in the interest of the landholders. Finally, in 1673, the king put an end to his own extravagance *by giving away the whole state!* In this case the beneficiaries were Lord Culpeper and the Earl of Arlington, neither of whom was worthy of royal favor or personal respect. Nevertheless, under the great seal of England they received a deed which granted to them for the space of thirty-one years "all the dominion of land and water called Virginia."

Berkeley's
"Long
Assembly"

Meanwhile, under the adroit and increasingly oppressive procedures of Sir William Berkeley, the liberties of the Virginians were more and more suppressed. One of the Governor's methods was to discourage elections. To this end he began, soon after his accession to authority, to prorogue the existing House of Burgesses from one session to the next—this in imitation of English Parliamentary usages; so that in fifteen years of his administration no election of a new House was had. By this means the Burgesses of 1662 were, in the course of ten years, converted into mere hangers-on and dependents of the government. Sir William succeeded in getting things into such a shape that he might well say with his great contemporary, Louis XIV., "*The State!—I am the State!*"

There was, however, in Virginia at this time and always a latent spirit of opposition to the assumption of authority by the governor. The Virginians were not averse to such assumption when it was made by themselves. Neither was this a selfish view of the question. The citizens of a state are the public, and the public may always assume its rights. Democracy is therefore the most legitimate of all governmental forms; for only in given cases of occasional unreason or anger does the democracy of a country assume more than rightfully belongs to it.

1674-5

The
people
are the
state

In Virginia the neglect of the Burgesses and failure to hold a new election began at last to be remarked, and then the colony was threatened with a revolt. As early as 1674 there were symptoms of a popular insurrection. The matter did not escape the Governor's notice. On the contrary, he realized the trend of public opinion and sought to quench the fire with the waters of generous concession. Perhaps he would have succeeded in preventing the revolutionary outbreak which followed, but for the accident of an Indian uprising. As the settlements in Virginia spread out to the west and the north, the red men were again encountered by the whites on the frontier, and a state of feeling was produced which portended a recurrence of the dreadful scenes of 1622 and 1644.

Virginian
insur-
gency

Perhaps the democratic citizens of Virginia took advantage of the alarm which began in 1674 to raise an issue with the government. In the first

1675
Assem-
bly
orders
Indian
war

place, when the General Assembly was convened, in March of 1675, a declaration of war was made by that body against the Indians—this without deference to Governor Berkeley, to whom an un-availing petition had already been presented praying for the defense of the frontier. Now the Assembly took the matter into its own hands and ordered a force of five hundred men to proceed against the Indians.

Berkeley
dis-
allows it

The command of this respectable little army was given to Henry Chicheley, and preparations were made for a campaign into the western parts of Virginia. For some reason Governor Berkeley was exceedingly adverse to the impending war, and when the crisis came, he ordered Captain Chicheley to disband his forces and leave the settlement of the Indian difficulties to himself. The military force accordingly dispersed, but the Indians continued to trouble the frontier settlements until the passion of the colonists was thoroughly aroused.

The Governor's conduct in ordering home the soldiers who were about to put themselves between the up-country settlements and the Indians, seemed inexplicable. Some said that Sir William was a coward; some, that he was mistaken in thinking that the Indians would of their own accord refrain from further depredations. Still others hinted that the Governor's friends were Indian traders, and that their interest and his were the same; therefore he was willing to expose the colony for the sake of gain. None of these reasons seemed

to suffice, and the last was regarded as hardly possible in the case of a Cavalier: it was quite possible.

1675-6

Just after the disbandment of Chicheley's forces an atrocious murder was committed by an Indian in Stafford County, where a citizen named Hen was killed on his own doorstep, together with a friendly native. The murder was evidently the work of a tribe called the Doegs. In the next place a company of white volunteers hunted down the savages, killing not a few. It seems that the frontiersmen made a mistake on their raid by attacking a party of Susquehannocks, who were doubtless innocent of wrong-doing. Thereupon the tribes of the upper country rose by hundreds, and an alarming crisis came.

Mutual
race
outrage

The Indians perceived that the whites were capable of attacking them on flimsy provocation or for no reason at all. The Senecas and Piscataways took the hatchet and joined the southern tribes; both Maryland and Virginia were in imminent danger of a general invasion.

Indian
rising

At this juncture, the two provinces made common cause. An army of a thousand men, Marylanders and Virginians, was raised, to be commanded jointly by Colonel John Washington, of the parent colony, and Major Thomas Truman, of Cecil Calvert's country. This force proceeded against the Susquehannocks, whose chieftains were summoned to exculpate their people from the charge of treaty-breaking, pillage, and murder. In the course of the negotiations the six Indians, who should have been under protection as if by a

Joint pro-
vincial
army
moves

1675-6

flag of truce, were seized by the whites and put to death.

Berkeley
cham-
pions
Indians

This act was so indefensible and wicked that the legislature of Maryland summoned Major Truman and condemned him to punishment for violating the laws of God and of nations. The Virginians seem to have had less conscience in the matter; but when Colonel Washington (who was the great-grandfather of George Washington) returned to the capital and entered the Assembly house, Governor Berkeley in his speech at the opening of the session denounced his course severely, saying that if the Indians had killed his grandfather and his grandmother, his father and his mother, and all his friends, and should afterwards have come seeking pardon, he would have kept faith with them and permitted them to go in peace. It is a pity this forgiving meekness of temper was not exhibited toward his white enemies.

Colony
goes to
war with-
out him

The Indians, after the treacherous destruction of their chiefs, went to open war. Then the Virginians arose tumultuously, taking the cause into their own hands. They petitioned the Governor for leadership, but he gave them none. Most of the civil and military authorities of the colony engaged in the insurrection; and they presently elected for their commanding officer Nathaniel Bacon Junior, whose estate on the upper James had been ravaged by the Indians, and whose respectable overseer had been murdered at his estate of "Bacon Quarter Branch," not far from the site of Richmond.

Bacon was at this time thirty-four years of age. He was a man of English education; a lawyer by profession; a man of excellent character; a member of the Virginia Council; a favorite of the people; brave and rich, an eloquent speaker, and a born leader of men. He was the son of Sir Thomas Bacon of Friston Hall, Suffolk, England, who was a relative of Sir Francis Bacon of great fame. When Captain Bacon was chosen to lead in the Indian campaign he accepted the trust, but applied to Sir William Berkeley for a commission. His request was refused—for what reason does not readily appear. Angered at this rebuff, the captain put himself at the head of the reassembled forces of the colony, numbering about five hundred men, and marched against the Indians on the Pamunkey.

1675-6

Nathan-
iel BaconMarches
against
Indians

This act aroused the passions of Governor Berkeley, and he denounced those engaging in the expedition as rebels and traitors to the colony. His rage was directed against Bacon in particular. Hereupon the courageous captain made a counter proclamation, in which he in his turn denounced Governor Berkeley not only as a tyrant, but also as a traitor to both king and country. The Governor, in the next place, strove to bring out the colonial militia against Bacon and his forces. This part of the Governor's proceeding, however, was unavailing. He did not succeed in arousing the people against their favorite. He procured an armed force, however, and followed in the wake of the expedition.

War of
procla-
mations
with
Berkeley

1676

Insur-
rection
against
Berkeley

Hereupon the people of the lower counties, who were supposed to be most loyal to the Governor, rose against him, and the insurrection became general. Berkeley was obliged to give over the pursuit of Bacon and to return to Jamestown, where he had as much as he could do to allay the storm which had blown up behind him. But his talents and address stood him well in hand. Then it was that for the first time in fifteen years he issued writs for the election of a new Assembly, which convened on the 15th of June, 1676.

Truce
patched
up

While Bacon was on his way down the river to attend the meeting of the Burgesses, he was arrested by Governor Berkeley's orders. An armed vessel had been sent up the river to intercept him, and he fell into the power of his adversary; but being a member-elect of the Assembly, it seemed imprudent to proceed against him, and he was released on parole. Taking his seat in the Assembly, he availed himself of the first opportunity to read to the House a paper in which he confessed the unlawful character of his late proceedings, and apologized for his conduct. Thereupon he was pardoned, and was permitted to take his seat in the Council.

Plot
against
Bacon

It was also declared by the Assembly that Bacon should be the commanding officer in another expedition against the Indians. It now came to a grapple of the Governor with the popular leader. Bacon was secretly informed that Sir William had made a plot against his life. He therefore fled from Jamestown, put himself at the head of

a military force, and returned to the seat of government. By this time the Assembly was completely on his side. That body elected him to be general, and promised that he should have a commission as such in a new campaign against the Indians. Then a letter of explanation was prepared by the Assembly and was sent to the King.

1676

Bacon
elected
com-
mander

The question of a general reform was soon raised. Radical measures were proposed for curtailing the power of the Governor. But Sir William resisted, and dissolved the Assembly. He also addressed a communication to the King. For the present, however, he was unable to stand in the wind of the tempest he had raised. Bacon prevailed in so far that he was able to wrest the promised commission from the Governor's hand, and under this authority he again marched against the Indians. But as soon as he left Jamestown, Berkeley issued another proclamation branding General Bacon as a traitor. In a few days the general heard of the denunciation which the Governor had fulminated, and returned in a great passion to the capital. Berkeley attempted to resist, but, being deserted by his troops, he fled for safety to Accomac.

Berkeley
plays
fast and
looseForced
to flee

It now came to civil war in Virginia. Bacon called a convention and took counsel with the leading men, as to the means by which he should ward off the Indians on the one hand, and keep at bay the fugitive Governor and his supporters on the other. Against the latter Bacon sent some armed vessels to Accomac, and then he himself

Bacon
favors
revolutionary
convention

1676

Vacilla-
tions of
fortuneBacon's
deathCollapse
of
rebellionBacon's
character

departed against the Indians. Berkeley succeeded in winning over the officers who had come to take him, and returned to Jamestown at the head of the very force which had been sent to capture him! Once more Bacon came back from the upper James and Berkeley fled before him. Jamestown was then captured by the patriots, and the state-house was burned by a mob. For the day, the success of the rebellion seemed to be assured; but just at the crisis of affairs, Bacon fell sick of malarial fever, and in a few days died.¹

With the death of the leader his partisans scattered in all directions. Each no doubt sought to hide himself away and be safe from the wrath of the Governor, who now returned and reinstated himself without resistance. A number of petty insurrections broke out here and there, but they were easily put down.

Without controversy, the character of Nathaniel Bacon is difficult to analyze. For a long time the sycophant scribes of the royal government sought to blacken the character of the man and disparage his work. After the achievement of our independence, and the examination by Amer-

¹ The circumstances of Bacon's death are rather obscurely known. His illness was at first considered trifling. The malady no doubt was of a typhoid character. He was in Gloucester County when his vital energies suddenly failed, and he was taken to the house of Dr. Pate, where he died on the 1st of October, 1676. His friends gave him a secret burial, and no man to this day knoweth the place of his repose.

"Here let him rest; while wee this truth report
Hee's gone from hence unto a higher Court
To pleade his Cause, where he by this doth know
Whether to Caesar hee was friend or foe."

ican authors of the original documents of that period, a better notion was obtained of the brave young leader of the Virginia democracy. No doubt the reaction in his favor has swung to the opposite extreme. 1678

That Bacon was popular cannot be doubted; that he was a sincere patriot is also certain. But there seems to have been a strain of braggadocio, a tendency to high-flown rhetoric, and a protestation of lofty motives that protested too much. Thus, for example, in his proclamation against Berkeley he rises into a patriotic strophe which may have sounded well in that age, but which would now be regarded as the emanation of a weak mind under the influence of vanity: "If Virtue be a Sin," says this high-sounding document; "if Piety be Guilt, if all the Principles of Morality and Goodness and Justice be perverted, we must confess that those who are called Rebels may be in Danger of those high Imputations, those loud and severe Bulls, which would affright Innocency, and render the defence of our Brethren and the Enquiry into our sad and heavy Oppressions Treason. But, if there be (as sure there is) a just God to appeal to; if Religion and Justice be a Sanctuary here; if to plead the Cause of the Oppress'd; if sincerely to aim at the Publick Good, without any Reservation or By-Interest; if to stand in the Gap, after so much Blood of our Dear Brethren bought and sold; if after the Loss of a great part of His Majesty's Colony, deserted and dispeopled, and freely to part with our Lives and

What
Bacon
was

Dithy-
ramb
against
Berkeley

1676

Bacon's
writing

Estates to endeavor to save the Remainder, be Treason,—Let God and the World judge, and the Guilty die. But since we cannot find in our Hearts One single Spot of Rebellion and Treason, or that we have in any manner aimed at the Subversion of the Settl'd Government, or attempting the Person of any, either Magistrate or Private Man,—notwithstanding the several Reproaches and Threats of some who for sinister Ends were disaffected to Us, and censure our Just and Honest Designs,—Let Truth be bold and all the World Know the Real Foundation of our Pretended Guilt."

Frightful
venge-
ance of
Berkeley
party

The triumphant royalists of 1676, in the last days of the rebellion, found in Robert Beverley a leader who had a force of character like that of Bacon, and the scattered patriots were hunted to their coverts. The story of the events which followed might well be omitted from our colonial annals; for they constitute one of its bloodiest chapters. They of the popular party were hunted down and vindictively punished. They were taken one by one, and the leaders to the number of twenty-three were hanged. Colonel Herbert Jeffreys and ex-Governor Francis Morrison, sat with Sir William Berkeley as a self-constituted court to make short shrift with the men whom they both feared and hated. Young Thomas Hansford, a gallant leader of the late rebels, was brought to trial and condemned to death. He asked no favor save that he might be accorded a soldier's death. "You shall die as a traitor," said the court in

answer. At the gibbet Hansford raised his hand and cried out, "I die a loyal subject and a lover of my country." Thomas Wilford, a York River patriot, who had lost an eye in one of the skirmishes, said with cold irony, "If I were stark blind, the Governor would give me a guide to the gallows." When Edmond Cheesman was brought to trial his young wife pleaded for his life, taking the blame upon herself; for she had persuaded her husband to join Bacon. Not only was the appeal in vain, but the frenzied and unmanly old "Cavalier" threw in her teeth a foul insult, of which the most ungentle Roundhead would have been ashamed. "You are welcome," said the sarcastic Berkeley when Bacon's ablest adviser, William Drummond, was brought in. "I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia; you shall be hanged in half an hour!" Thus the dreadful business sped on until more than a score of the best men in the colony perished. The jails were filled with arrested patriots, but at length the Assembly intervened and stayed the Governor's hand. A few of the leaders escaped, and the rank and file in course of time regained their liberty and citizenship by an act of general amnesty.

Berkeley in his frenzy of revenge had forgotten the King's example as well as mistaken his temper. Charles II.—from prudence, good-nature, or indolence—had shown great clemency toward the men who with axe and sword had subverted the throne of England; but in Virginia his lieutenant had acted the part of a tyrant frantic with cowardice.

1676

Berkeley's
frantic
massacreCauses
reaction

1676-7

Berkeley
recalled
and
censured

The King was disgusted and angry. "The old fool," said he, "has taken away more lives in that naked country than I for the murder of my father." Charles issued a proclamation censuring Berkeley for acting contrary to his commands, recalled him, and appointed a special commission to investigate Virginia affairs.

Insane
folly

Colonel Herbert Jeffreys was made governor *pro tem.*; and signalized his short rule by a treaty of peace with the Indians. Sir William acted like one senile and half crazy—the sole defense for his late conduct: he refused to surrender the office to his successor, resisted the royal commissioners on the ground that his authority was superior to theirs, and grossly insulted them. However, on the 27th of April 1677, he gave way and went on shipboard. As he departed, bonfires were kindled behind him, and there was general rejoicing in the colony. Charles would not see him; and the mortified old man died a few months afterward—his angry family said, of a broken heart.

Death

Reaction-
ism

Berkeley believed in the past and resented progress. "I thank God," he said, "that there are no free schools¹ nor printing-presses [in Virginia], and I hope there will be none this twenty years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged

¹This has been universally misconstrued, and great injustice done to Virginia thereby. There were several endowed free schools, and the parish vestries were required by law to see to the schooling of poor and neglected children. But Berkeley, as an upper-class Englishman, considered such things too trivial to take into account: he was thinking of great foundations like Eton, Rugby, or Harrow, with fine buildings and notable head-masters.

these and other libels." He had some literary talent, and left to posterity a drama called "The Lost Lady," and "A Discourse and View of Virginia," which he prepared in 1663.¹

1674-7

Berkeley's
writings

Before leaving his career, we ought not to omit a more useful and creditable episode, which in design anticipated Spotswood's more thorough and famous expedition of forty years later. Very little was known of the vast region to the westward, now composing the populous States of the Mississippi Valley. The French hoped to establish on those fertile plains an empire of the Gallic race; hence they employed every means to keep other nations in ignorance, even to wrong descriptions of the country, and imparting misleading names and characteristics to the Indian tribes. The Appalachian mountains (the Alleghanies were so called at first, in honor of the Appalachian Indians) appeared to the Virginians an insurmountable barrier, the guard-line of a bleak and sterile region, beyond which abounded dangerous beasts and untamable savages. But Berkeley determined to pierce the veil, and in 1674 sent out a party of fourteen colonists and as many Indians, all under command of Captain Henry Batt.

Exploration
of
the Alle-
ghanies

¹ The most astonishing example of ignorance and carelessness in all biographic writing is probably the article on Berkeley in the great *English Dictionary of National Biography*. His colonial career is related with defiant omission or inversion of the facts (he is said to have "treated the Indians with great severity"!), and the rebellion is not even alluded to. The only parallel to it is an alleged Catholic *History of France*, in which the years 1793-1815 are passed over with the single sentence that the Bourbons retired from the country during this period, leaving the government to their viceroy, the Marquis of Bonaparte.

1674

Berkeley's
Alleghany
explorations

They started from Appomattox, and after a seven-days' march reached the Appalachian foothills. Passing the first "Blue" ridge, they encountered other heights so rugged and precipitous that it often required a day's journey to progress three or four miles; but having cleared these obstacles, they entered upon a region of wide prairies, whose solitudes were broken by great numbers of wild turkeys, deer, elks, and buffaloes, so unused to men that they suffered these to approach closely with no manifestation of uneasiness. After traversing this region and crossing another spur, they came to a level country, covered with open forests and luxuriant grasses, evidently well adapted to the maintenance of a dense population. The first rivulet chanced upon they followed until they came into cultivated fields, dotted with the vacant cabins of a deserted Indian village. The inhabitants had either fled on the approach of the strangers, or were absent on their annual hunt. The men were careful not to disturb any of the surroundings, or do anything that might arouse animosity; and after resting and waiting in vain for some of the villagers to appear, they proceeded on their journey.

Unsuccessful

They came soon after into a marshy country, dreary and uninviting; whereupon the Indians of the band refused to go further, as it was nearing a tribe who always murdered strangers. Batt's remaining force was not strong enough to venture into a hostile country, and he had to return without accomplishing his purpose. It is not known

how far he penetrated into the mountains, but it is believed that he merely skirted the main ridge to the southward. His report was so favorable that Berkeley planned a larger expedition, under his own command; but Bacon's rebellion put an end to the project.

1674-9

A significant consequence of the insurrection of 1676 was the introduction, for the first time, of English troops into the colony, for the restoration of order. Their presence was resented; but they remained, quartered at Jamestown, until 1679, when they were disbanded, and most of them became citizens of Virginia.

Preven-
tives
against
further
rebellion

Among the measures of retaliation on the patriots, one of the first adopted by the royalists was the obliteration of the acts of the Assembly of June 1676. The statutes which were hurriedly passed at this session were designated as "Bacon's Laws," and the total destruction of this part of the colonial legislation was aimed at by the royalist party. Nevertheless, Bacon's Laws had so much vitality that they were revived from time to time, and it is probable that they survive in the spirit of the Virginia constitution to the present day. For the time, however, the patriotic code was suppressed. Many other measures were adopted to preclude the party of Bacon from a fair hearing with posterity.

"Bacon's
Laws"
banned

An act was also passed against the introduction of the printing-press. Another act made it a misdemeanor to speak ill of Berkeley or his friends. A third resolution made it an offense to

Gag-laws
passed

1677-80

Gag-laws
against
Bacon-
ians

write or publish anything favorable to the recent rebellion; this if thrice repeated should be constructively an act of treason. All the usual precautions were taken by the royalist faction to make their victory complete and everlasting, and yet within a twelvemonth their triumph began to fade away.

Jeffreys,
Chiche-
ley, Cul-
peper

Governor Jeffreys remained in office until his death in December of 1678. He was succeeded in the governorship by Sir Henry Chicheley, whom we have already seen appointed by the Assembly to the command of the Virginia army. His term of office extended to May of 1680, when Lord Thomas Culpeper, who for nearly five years had been nominally governor for life of Virginia, arrived to take charge of the broad but distracted province which the generous Majesty of England had given him.

Virginia
made pro-
prietary
govern-
ment

Thus after an existence of seventy-three years from its foundation, the State of Virginia was once more transformed in its civil character. The royal government, which had existed since 1624, was supplanted with the PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT, and one of the proprietaries became chief magistrate of the province. But Arlington and Culpeper did not exactly *own* the soil of Virginia. Each had his own personal estate besides his right of eminent domain over the whole. Thus, Culpeper was the possessor in fee simple of the peninsula between the Rappahannock and Potomac. Indeed, a single man or two men, even the vice-roys of a King, would hardly have been granted

so vast a territory as that of Virginia, in alienation at once of Crown and personal rights.

1680-1

When Lord Culpeper arrived in Jamestown, 1680, he surrounded himself with councilors who, like the Proprietary, favored royal prerogative and condemned democracy. He brought with him three statutes prepared in England, which he presented to the Assembly with the awe-inspiring Great Seal attached. The first was an edict of indemnity and oblivion for the participants in the late rebellion. The second transferred to the Governor the prerogative of naturalizing foreigners; and the third established a perpetual duty of two shillings the hogshead on exported tobacco for the support of the provincial government. Thus was taken from the colony the right of voting the supplies necessary for the maintenance of the king's officers in Virginia—a measure exceedingly harmful to colonial liberty.¹ No doubt the Assembly would have resisted the encroachment, but for the fact that the body, aghast at the bloody punishment of the late resistance, dared not recommence it. As it was, the Culpeper statutes were accepted only with many grimaces.

Culpeper's anti-autonomous statutes

The new Governor and Proprietary of Virginia was not satisfied long to enjoy the dubious rapture of a wrangling exile in a new colony. After a few months of provincial torment, he left the province in charge of Lieutenant-Governor Chicheley and returned to England.

Departure

¹ This question also troubled Massachusetts, and at last came to a memorable crisis.

1680-1 By this time the colonial state of Virginia had reached an industrial climax. The crisis came as a result of over-production of the leading staple; more accurately, its under-consumption from lack of buying power in its chief consumers, the Dutch. This was caused by the rigid enforcement of the Navigation Acts, which made all the industries of the colonies tributary to the aggrandizement of the mother country. No commodities could be imported into or exported out of any British settlements except in English or colonial ships; while tobacco, turpentine, peltries, and the other principal commodities of the colonies, were not allowed to be shipped to any country but England. This gave the British merchants a monopoly of colonial trade, enabling them to buy for whatever they chose to pay, and in turn charge any price they liked for any quality they chose to furnish of manufactured articles. Trade between the colonies was likewise taxed for the benefit of the imperial treasury.

Trade
paralysis
from Nav-
igation
Acts

Now this raised the price of tobacco to a point at which the Dutch planted for themselves in their own colonies; and the Virginia grade was not liked by the English, so that much of it was not bought at all. This glut so reduced the price as to destroy the planter's profit. Several expedients were adopted to rescue the producers from the necessity of selling their product below a living price; but it came to pass that they must do so or suffer worse disasters. One horn of the alternative was starvation.

Effects on
tobacco

The CASE of the Merchants, and Planters, Trading to, and Residing in, Virginia, and Maryland.

THE high Custom of Six Pence and one Third of a Penny p^{r} Pound, on Tobacco for the Home Consumption, has by many Years Experience been found much more than it can bear; the Planters and Merchants Adventurers having often lost Fifty p^{r} Cent, and sometimes more than their Capital, the Produce not being sufficient to defray the Custom, Freight, and other Charges; so that without some timely Relief, this Trademust inevitably be lost to Great Britain.

As the Distance of our *British* Plantations is an Improvement of our Navigation, so of Necessity it becomes a Charge on our Tobacco, and has given great Encouragement to the Planting of vast Quantities of that Commodity in *Holland, Germany, &c.* to the Improvement of their Lands and Benefit of the Proprietors, who supply many Parts of *Europe*, to the Decay of our Plantations, Trade, and Navigation; and unless such Encouragement be given to the Exporters of Tobacco, as may enable them to render it very cheap at Foreign Markets, and thereby in great measure prevent the Planting in *Europe*, this beneficial Trade will in a few Years be irretrievably lost, and our Nation oblig'd to pay Specie for Linnen; and all other the Manufactures of *Holland, Germany, Sweedland, &c.* that us'd to be purchas'd in those Parts with the Proceed of our Plantation Tobacco.

In order to render our *American* Tobacco cheap in Foreign Markets, it's humbly propos'd, that on Exportation the remaining Moiety of the old Subsidy being one Half-penny p^{r} Pound, be drawn back in like manner as all the other Duties now are.

The present Customs on Tobacco are, viz.

The Old Subsidy always paid down	1 d. p^{r} Pound.
Additional Duty payable at Nine Months	1
Impost Duty payable at Eighteen Months	3
New Subsidy payable at Three Months	1
Additional Subsidy payable at Nine Months	0 $\frac{1}{2}$

All the Duties amount to 6 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ p^{r} Pound.

Tho' the Bonds given for the Duties aforesaid are payable at several times, yet it hath been the constant Practice ever since the Restoration, till of late Years, not to demand the Money for any of them, till the time allow'd by Law for Exportation expires. And it's therefore humbly hop'd it may be Enacted, That all Bonds for the several Duties on Tobacco be made payable at Eighteen Months from the Merchants Entry; for should they be prosecuted (as they have Reason to fear) for part of the Duties, at the End of Three, and Nine Months, it would unavoidably force all the Traders in Tobacco immediately to export the same, that their Debentures may be finish'd in time to discharge their Bonds without paying Interest thereon; this will make *Holland* the general Mart for our Tobacco, and by such hasty Exportations, Foreigners will reap the Benefit of our Plantations more effectually than if they were their own.

The Indulgence from the Legislature, in granting Eighteen Months time for Exportation, in lieu of Twelve formerly allow'd, we humbly conceive was design'd in favour of our Plantations, that Foreign Markets might by Degrees be supply'd with our Tobacco, to the Advantage, and not Ruin of the Proprietors, who at present are necessitated to sell their Tobacco in *Holland* for less than the Freight and Custom.

The Discouragements of late Years have already ruin'd several considerable Merchants, oblig'd others to decline trading in Tobacco, and forc'd many of the Planters in *Virginia* and *Maryland* upon Manufactures, wherein they are already such Proficients, that several Counties make Shoes, Stockings, Hats, Linnen and Woollen, not only for their own, but for the Use of their Neighbours; others sow Corn, which hath been sent from the Plantations in great Quantities to several Parts of *Europe*, and Necessity will put them annually upon many Expedients to become less Dependant on this Kingdom.

To Conclude; The melancholy State of our Tobacco Plantations is such, that for several Years past, the Exporters of our Woollen and all other Manufactures to *Virginia* and *Maryland*, are diminish'd, at least one half, the Traders thereto greatly impoverish'd, the Planters by Necessity falling into Manufactures, the Navigation of this Kingdom consequently lessen'd, and notwithstanding the several high Duties laid on Tobacco, the Revenue hath not been thereby augmented.

It's therefore humbly hop'd this Honourable House will not only lower the Duties on Tobacco for the Home, and Foreign Consumption, but give such other Relief in the Premises, as in their great Wisdom shall be found necessary.

The evil condition became at length so pronounced that the acting Governor convened the General Assembly, and that body went to beating blindly at the industrial problem of cheap tobacco. How should the price be raised to a normal level? A petition was prepared praying the King to issue a proclamation against the over-production of the plant—a paper which, for its logic and applicability to the case in hand, might do credit to many of the expedients proposed in the American Congress as remedies for industrial depressions!

1680
et seq.

Endeav-
ors to
make
tobacco
pay

While the assemblymen were making their maiden efforts in debate on this burning question, the populace undertook the reconstruction of political economy *with their hoes!* It seemed rational to cut down the over-production of the staple by cutting down the plants. A popular club of so-called plant-cutters sprang up, who went about into the tobacco fields, and reduced the crop by digging up so much as they thought necessary of the overplus. No modern industrial combination, organized to prevent a full output of coal, or barbed wire, or fabrics, could surpass the efficiency of this primitive method.

Populace
destroy
crops

When Lord Culpeper resumed his place at the court of Charles II., he first proposed to regulate the industrial condition of his colony by hanging the plant-cutters. In the next place he thought it well to increase the purchasing power of the circulating medium in Virginia by changing five shillings into six shillings, and other coins in the same proportion. Of course it should not extend

Cul-
peper's
foolish
schemes

1681-4
Proposed
currency
debase-
ment

to any transactions between the people and the government! All dues to the Crown or the public treasury should be paid by the people at the old rate of six for six. But the citizens in trading with each other might have the advantage of the five-for-six currency. When the Virginians protested against the proposed folly, the Governor expelled the Assembly. Five *should* equal six.

Attempt
to
suppress
colonial
records

Another source of difficulty was found when a demand was made that the records of the General Assembly should be surrendered for examination to certain royal commissioners appointed as investigators. This demand was more than even the royalist members of the Assembly could bear. Colonel Robert Beverley, who was at this time clerk of the body, and who had lately been the ablest and most efficient supporter of Sir William Berkeley, refused to give up the records which were intrusted to his care, and was sent to jail for his fidelity to colonial liberty.

Proprietary gov-
ernment
abolished

The Culpeper régime was not of long duration. The Governor remained in Virginia for less than a year, and in 1684 his proprietary interest in the province was wholly extinguished: in its stead he received a sum in gross, and an annual pension of \$3000, lapsing in twenty and a half years. In this manner Virginia resumed her relation as a Crown colony. It was argued, however, that henceforth a part of the revenues derivable from the export duties on colonial products should be used for the maintenance of the state government. The King appointed as Culpeper's successor



LORD CULPEPER.



LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM.

Lord Howard of Effingham, who assumed and exercised the government in the same despotic manner as his predecessors. The hint of Berkeley about the vice of printing had been accepted as a dictum, and Lord Howard was instructed not to allow a printing-press in Virginia!

1684-90

Culpeper's policy of hanging plant-cutters was improved by his successor. The colonists became so much angered by the abuses of the administration that they dispatched Thomas Ludwell to England to protest against the proceedings of Lord Howard. Ludwell reached London after William and Mary had been proclaimed, and to them the protest of the Virginians was presented. Lord Howard was thus brought to book by the complaints of his subjects; but he was permitted, notwithstanding his adherence to the House of Stuart, to remain in office for several years.

Howard's
adminis-
tration
raises
protest

At length when the new sovereigns of England were safely established on their joint throne, William found opportunity to attend to American interests. In 1690 he relieved Lord Howard of his duties as governor of Virginia, and sent out Francis (afterwards Sir Francis) Nicholson to act as lieutenant-governor of Virginia and Maryland, pending a general settlement of colonial affairs. Nicholson had already served for three years as lieutenant-governor of the colonies north of Chesapeake Bay, representing Sir Edmund Andros at New York until 1689; transferred to Virginia, his name is associated with her history for fully fifteen years. Lord Howard was still

Sup-
planted
by Nich-
olson

1690-4 permitted to be the governor's cloak, and to draw a governor's salary. If you keep up an aristocracy, you cannot let it go shabby.

Nicholson's development
Nicholson had perhaps been improved by his previous discipline in office. He had a stormy time as governor of New York, where his hasty temper, his great zeal for royalty, and his unwarrantable ambition, had kept him embroiled with the people. From this experience he had learned to control himself somewhat and to act the part of a politician; and he did not, in the first years of his administration at Jamestown, fail to win a measure of popularity.

Zeal for colonial improvement
Almost as soon as Nicholson entered upon his duties, he conceived several projects of much importance. First of all, he undertook the worthy work of building up the colonial manufactures. He encouraged new branches of industry, teaching the Virginians that a variety of productions was better than a single staple, the price of which must be upheld by the plant-cutters. In the next place the Governor decided to remove the capital of Virginia from Jamestown to Williamsburg. This town was at the time the county seat of the borough of James City, between the James and the York rivers. From the date of the change the new capital waxed in population and importance, while Jamestown entered upon that decline which in the course of two hundred years converted the place into a local reminiscence.

James-town ceases to be capital

When the removal of the capital was effected, Nicholson sought to induce the Virginians to enter



THE OLD VIRGINIA CAPITOL.¹

¹ The sessions of the Assembly were held in the old Capitol, at Williamsburg, of which the picture at the head of this paper is a representation, copied from an old print engraved in England about a hundred years ago. The first building erected on that spot for a capitol, was burnt in the year 1746, and this was erected not long afterward. It was built of imported brick, and stood there, a monument of the revolutionary period, until April, 1832, when it, too, was consumed. The seat of government was removed to Williamsburg from Jamestown, in 1698, and remained there until Richmond became the capital of the state, in 1779. The old Capitol was the scene of many interesting events in our history. There the great deliberations which

preceded the war for independence, were held, and therein were heard the voices of those Virginia statesmen whose memory Americans will ever delight to honor. There occurred that notable incident in the life of Washington, related by Mr. Wirt. After his successful mission to the French on the Ohio, he was in the gallery of the Assembly chamber, and was highly complimented by the Speaker. The young officer arose and tried to express his thanks for the honor, but the words would not come, when the Speaker relieved him by a greater compliment, saying: "Sit down, Mr. Washington; your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess." —[Ed.]

THE OLD CAPITOL AT WILLIAMSBURG.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

into the movement of the time for a general colonial war against the French Canadians. He tried to compass the formation of a confederacy of all the English colonists against what he regarded as the common enemy. In this project his mind was no doubt affected greatly by the condition of affairs in Europe. King William had put himself at the head of a Protestant league, having for its aim the humiliation of Louis XIV. of France and of the Catholic powers in alliance with him. This seemed to imply that a like work, though on a smaller scale, should be undertaken in America. Perhaps, in that event, Francis Nicholson might be made governor of the United English colonies! The Virginians, however, did not enter into the scheme. The Burgesses refused to vote an appropriation for the establishment of frontier posts against the French—this though the Governor himself offered to defray one-half of the expense.

The Governor appeared in a nobler—if a less ambitious—rôle when he became the patron and joint founder of William and Mary College, out of which the great revolutionists of our heroic age were to spring.¹ This, the oldest seat of the

1690-3

Scheme
for Pan-
American
English
colony

William
and Mary
College
founded

¹ The first effort made by the Virginians to establish a college was in 1619, when the Academy of Henrico, near the present site of Richmond, was founded—see pages 685-6 for its annihilation. Again in 1661, the General Assembly passed an act for the establishment and endowment of a college, but the provision was not carried into effect. When Blair procured the charter in 1693, the institution to be created was named in honor of the new sovereigns of England. Sir Christopher Wren, architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, prepared the designs for the first college buildings. The institution obtained its first endowment from the estate of Robert Boyle, the English philosopher, and received as its first president James Blair, the founder.

1693-
1750Founda-
tion of
"William
and
Mary"

higher learning in Virginia, and the second oldest college in the United States, was chartered in 1693, through the instrumentality of the Scotch colonist James Blair, who had for his patron the Bishop of London. Nicholson acted magnanimously, and gave to the infant institution the half of a gratuity which the Burgesses had voted to him as a war fund.

Nichol-
son
trans-
ferred to
Maryland

On the whole, Francis Nicholson did not get on successfully with the government of Virginia. The people wearied of his rule, and in 1694 he was transferred to the governorship of Maryland; where his first important measure was the establishment, in 1696, of the capital at Annapolis. For the rest, his career of four years in the northern colony was not unlike that in Virginia. The closing period of the century was marked by many such shiftings of the royal officers from province to province; as they are still transferred by home governments when they have done their work or become embroiled beyond usefulness.

Hugue-
not set-
tlement
in
Virginia

The closing year of the century might be marked in Virginia by two circumstances. The first was the arrival in the province of a company of Huguenots, under their leader Claude Philippe de Richebourg. It was the first accession of Gallic (though not strictly the first of Celtic) blood to the life current of the Virginians; and a valuable strain. The Huguenots, wherever they went, carried with them a certain enthusiasm in action and refinement of sentiment. It is probable that these characteristics rose to the surface in the early days

of the Revolution, and had their fruition among other constituents in the humane democracy of Thomas Jefferson. 1700

The other circumstance was the graduation of the first class from "William and Mary." This earnest of future years passed out of the halls of the young but honorable institution in the summer of 1700.

The reign of William and Mary has been marked in English history as the time of the transformation of the old into the new order of government there. The Stuart kings were now happily dispatched, either to the silence of the grave or to the vagaries of pretension. The remaining scions of the ill-fated house still supposed themselves to be something; but they were nothing. Henceforth history disregarded them. That which they represented also passed away, not only in England but also on the Continent. King William stood like a colossus of protest, with one foot in our mother island and the other foot in the Netherlands. His reign culminated at the end of the century.

New
epoch
marked
by new
century

The transformation in society and government, of which William III. was the embodiment and real presence, extended in a limited way to the American colonies. Lord Howard of Effingham, Edmund Andros, and Francis Nicholson, were really the last of their kind. They were Stuart kings in the little. The royal governors who succeeded them were the same *in name*, but never the same *in kind*.

Last
governors
despots

1700
et seq.

Popu-
lation

Com-
merce

In several ways the birth of the eighteenth century was the beginning of a new era for Virginia. She had now become an important colonial possession of the British Empire. Her population reached a total of about 60,000, of whom upwards of 20,000 were "tithables,"—to wit, all free males above sixteen, and all negroes of both sexes over that age. The remainder included the white women and children of both races. The drain on the population from disease was less than ever before, owing to the clearing of forests and drying up or draining of marches and stagnant pools, and to thorough acclimation. The commerce had increased in even greater proportion. Eighty ships came annually from England and Ireland, and returned laden with tobacco, to above 25,000 hogsheads or 20,000,000 pounds. Other products largely increased its output. There were many rich estates; but property was not so well distributed as it should have been.

Militia

By 1703 Virginia was able to put into the field an army of 9522 trained militia, of whom 233 were light-horse and the remainder foot and dragoons. Most of these men had seen service in the Indian wars, were thoroughly trained in the use of arms and inured to the hardships of camp life. They were accustomed to the handling of firearms from their boyhood, a fact which gave them great proficiency as marksmen and made them dangerous antagonists on the field of battle. The cavalry was an important branch of the service. Every planter prided himself on the blood of his stock,

and no horse was so wild or so spirited that a Virginian could not mount and master him.

1700
et seq.

All the able-bodied freemen between sixteen and fifty were enrolled in the militia, and liable to active service at a moment's notice. The militia in each county were formed into companies, and these again into battalions. In each county was a county lieutenant, who commanded all its militia; in active duty he ranked as a colonel. Each militiaman was required to provide himself with the arms used in the regular service; had this been complied with, Virginia could at any time have put a splendidly equipped and well-drilled army into the field; but it was not enforced as to either number or quality. It was the custom to borrow and lend, the men on duty carrying with them nearly all the available arms in the county; so that in many instances entire communities were wholly unarmed, except for a few worthless firelocks and fowling-pieces to shoot noxious animals. These conditions existed through the Revolution, and explain the inefficiency of our militia. The men were brave enough, and sufficiently well drilled; but they had no decent arms if any. The governor was the commander-in-chief of the militia, and sometimes led them in their campaigns; but usually generals or commanders of expeditions were appointed as occasion arose. When on service the militia received the same pay as regulars.

Militia
laws neglected

Bad results in
Revolution

The colony possessed nothing that might be dignified by the name of a navy. A few small vessels, indifferently armed and manned, and very

1750
et seq.
Colonial
"navy"

rarely in a seaworthy condition, made up the list. These vessels were usually employed in the bays and rivers, and were intended for the revenue service. The colonists depended upon the royal navy for such protection as they needed on the sea; but England required her navy on the other side of the sea, and the colonies were generally left to take care of themselves.

Local
govern-
ment

The provincial Assembly was composed of the Council or Upper House (Senate), usually upholding the governor; and the House of Burgesses or Lower House, elected by the freemen of the respective counties. The Council was composed of twelve members with a joint salary of about \$1750, divided according to service rendered. The Burgesses were also paid in proportion to service. Previous to 1680 both houses met in the same chamber, and constituted one deliberative body with plurality decisions; in that year they separated, each voting as a body. The governor and Council constituted the supreme tribunal of the province, and at first their decisions were final; but this rule was subsequently modified by the British government, and appeals in all cases involving more than \$1500 were transferred to the king and Privy Council in England. Litigants could employ English counsel and remain at home; but practically had to incur the expense and time of a trip across the ocean or fatally prejudice their cases.

In 1651, when Cromwell forced Virginia to submit to the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth,

a series of articles was signed by both parties, with the force of a new charter. The eighth clause guaranteed Virginia against taxation except by her own Assembly; it was expressed in the following language:

1651-
1700

"8ly. That Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatsoever, and none to be imposed upon them without consent of the Grand Assembly; and so that neither forts nor castles be erected or garrisons maintained without their consent."

Crom-
well
grants
liberties

This provision was observed during the Commonwealth, but with the Restoration all Cromwellian legislation was swept away. This article covered the whole ground of contention in the Revolution.

Abol-
ished by
Resto-
ration

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the province of Virginia was divided into twenty-five counties and forty-eight parishes, the latter embracing upwards of 200,000 acres of appropriated lands. Each parish contained a church and a house and glebe assigned to the clergyman, besides an annual stipend that was fixed at 16,000 pounds of tobacco, worth at that time about two cents per pound. Very little order or regularity was observed in laying out the counties and parishes, either with regard to size or shape. Sometimes a county embraced but one parish; more frequently it contained several.

Counties
and
parishes

The care of the poor was a secondary object of the parochial divisions. The assessments were levied and distributed by twelve persons in each

Vestries
become
close
corpo-
rations

parish, who were called vestrymen. They were chosen originally by the householders of the parish, but Berkeley's first Assembly of 1662 passed a law enabling them to fill vacancies in their own body. They were usually well-to-do and discreet farmers, so distributed through the parish that every part of it was under the immediate supervision of some one of them. They received no pay for their services. The system of poor relief, at home or by boarding out, was similar to that elsewhere. There were workhouses for vagabonds. Beggars, however, scarcely existed till after the Revolution. Later, it became a common practice for well-dressed foreigners to travel through the province, begging for money to bring their families to America. In this way many worthy foreign families obtained the means to pay their way across the sea; but naturally, so good a "lay" was soon adopted by professional beggars, who also worked other schemes.

English
laws
adopted
in mass

Previous to 1661 the common and statute laws of England were enforced in Virginia by the general consent of the people; but during that year they were officially adopted by act of the Assembly, except so far as "a difference of condition" rendered them inapplicable. They had the inhuman severity of the age; but it is not necessary to detail any except such as are special to the colony.

The doctrines and rights of the Church of England were established by law, and the observance of the sacraments and attendance on

divine worship at the parochial churches were enjoined under heavy penalties. Ministers of dissenting sects were prohibited, under various forms of punishment, from preaching their doctrines. The Quakers especially were regarded as a dangerous sect. Several acts of the Assembly, passed in 1659, 1662, and 1693, made it a penal for any master of a vessel to bring a Quaker into the colony, and required those already there to be imprisoned until they should agree to leave the province and not return. In case of a violation of this pledge, they were severely punished for the first and second offenses and executed for the third. This was as extreme as the New England laws, but it was never executed, any more than in New England outside of Massachusetts; and as in those colonies, it was due to the masses being more humane than church or officials. The same laws prohibited householders from allowing Quakers to hold meetings on or near their premises, and from entertaining them or circulating their books. But no Quaker ever went hungry in Virginia more than in Plymouth, because he was a Quaker.

Anti-
Quaker
laws

The stupid and barbarous heresy law, punishing that offense by burning, remained nominally in force by special statutory adoption for more than a century; but any attempt to enforce it would have produced a revolution. Yet so loth are the mass of a society to relax what seem securities for its moral basis that the convention of 1776, which declared that the exercise of religion should be free, left the ecclesiastical ordinances as they

Heresy
laws

Religious laws abolished

were. They felt, as many still do, that so long as these laws in fact did no mischief, there was no need of formally stripping themselves of all recourse. But the same convention, when it met as a General Assembly in October of 1776, repealed all acts of Parliament relating to religious opinions or worship, and cut off the State salaries of the clergy.

Blasphemy laws

In 1705 it was enacted that if a person brought up in the Christian religion should deny the being of God, or the Trinity, or assert that there are more gods than one, or should deny the truth of the Christian religion, or that the Scriptures were of divine origin, he should be punishable, for the first offense, by incapacity to hold any office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military; and on the second by disability to sue, to receive any gift or legacy, to be guardian, administrator, or executor, and by three years' imprisonment without bail. All that need be said further of these provisions, which never formed the basis of a prosecution, is that they were neither better nor worse than the Puritan legislation of the North, so much giped at as "Blue Laws." They certainly did not leave the community free, as we understand the term; but such freedom was neither the ideal nor the practice of most commonwealths then, and it is but fair—and significant—to remember that the wholly free ones like Rhode Island and North Carolina did not furnish models which made their neighbors by any means eager to imitate their systems.

Previous to 1690 nearly the whole body of the people of Virginia belonged to the Established Church; but after that date its proportion of membership began to decline, and at the beginning of the Revolution two-thirds of the population were dissenters. This result was due in about equal proportions to the vicious ecclesiastical laws and the weakness and immorality of a majority of the Anglican ministers. Socially and intellectually they were beneath the average planter, and in many instances scarcely equal to his servants. They were frequently as bankrupt in purse as they were in morals. No tradesmen would trust them for the vestments they wore, or the liquors they consumed. The Virginia colonists were a veritable landed aristocracy, proud of their social standing and integrity of personal character; and they could hardly be expected to associate on terms of equality with men whose ill-breeding not infrequently caused them to be placed at table with the household. As something like the same effects prevailed in England during this period, the cause lay deeper than colonial conditions; and it is significant that it pertained only to the Established clergy, not to the dissenting ministers.

Although the assignment of livings was a perquisite of the governor, that function, as well as the payment of ministerial salaries, had been usurped by the vestrymen. When Governor Nicholson proposed that this privilege should be restored to the executive, the clergymen manifested their approval with the liveliest demonstrations of gratitude.

Low
estate of
Estab-
lished
clergy

Clerical
drunken-
ness

The greater part of them met at a public-house in Williamsburg, where they got very drunk and broke one another's heads in honor of the proposed ecclesiastical reform! Yet at that very time there were penal enactments on the statutes of Virginia against traveling on Sunday, and against profane swearing, or profanely getting drunk! A ministerial drunk was probably not regarded as profane.

Slavery

Working silently but remorselessly to their injury was the increase of the negro slave. With respect to the negroes the cruel basis of all slave systems was of necessity adopted by the planters: as said the Roman law, "The chain follows the mother." As no one could identify a slave's father, the offspring of a slave mother must be slaves forever. Inevitable as it was, it not only tended to multiply the slave class, but in its fixing them to a status without hope or progress, and demoralizing the white society above them, it created the conditions under which the South is still struggling.

Imposed
by home
government

Slavery was unquestionably the greatest evil that Virginia had to contend against. The whites there at first favored and encouraged it, then grew alarmed at the danger of being swamped, and did what they could to rid themselves of it; but their efforts were more than neutralized by the determination of the royal government to maintain the evil. A law was at one time secured which imposed so heavy a duty on the importation of slaves as to amount to virtual prohibition; but the royal influence was brought to bear so strongly on a future

Assembly that it repealed this just law, and no similar measure could ever thereafter be enacted, until the Revolution placed the government in the hands of the people. Then, at the very first session of the Assembly under Republican auspices, a law was passed forever prohibiting the importation of slaves.

Slavery
legis-
lation

Previous to that time the negro population had increased in greater proportion than the white, until during the Revolutionary period the two races were nearly equal, the negroes being in the proportion of ten to eleven of the whites. The injustice and the danger of this situation were earnestly deplored by Mr. Jefferson, who prepared a bill and had it offered in this Assembly, providing for the emancipation of all slaves born after the passage of the act; but it was defeated by the same party which had refused to repeal the objectionable ecclesiastical provisions. It was of the most sweeping character. Children born in slavery thereafter should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up at public expense to useful arts till maturity, when they were to be colonized with plentiful supplies, declared a free and independent people, and protected by our alliance until they became strong enough to resist encroachment from other nations. The resultant deficiency in the colonial laboring element should be supplied by sending ships to foreign countries and bringing free white laborers to Virginia. The vast benefits to America had the plan been feasible and been carried out, and a free white laboring

Jefferson's
colo-
nizing
scheme

Laws con-
cerning
slaves

class substituted for a slave stock, incidentally turning the white proletariat into workers also, need no demonstration; nor that it was a dream of a noble heart. Whether it was a mere dream will always divide thinkers into opposing camps.

And
slave-
owning

In Virginia, if a slave committed a capital crime, he was to be tried by commissioners named by the governor; and if the death penalty were inflicted, the master was indemnified from the public funds for the value of the slave. On the other hand, an act passed by the Assembly of 1669 declared that the death of a slave, occasioned by the correction of his master, should not be accounted a felony; "since it cannot be presumed that premeditated malice, which alone makes murder felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate." Experience ought long before to have refuted this pernicious sophistry: the enjoyment of brutal passion often outweighs the calculations of interest. A study of the colonial laws relating to slavery affords a quaint view of the ramifications of the system. For instance, infidels, negroes, mulattoes, and Indians were not allowed to purchase Christian white servants; and if any person owning Christian white servants married an infidel, negro, mulatto, or Indian, all such servants became free. These abhorred classes were not debarred from the luxury of slave-owning, but it had to be confined to heathens, who were not regarded as worthy of human consideration. The theory of enslaving the heathen for the good of his soul was a later development.



CHIEF JUSTICE JEFFREYS.

Any free white person intermarrying with a negro or mulatto, and any minister officiating in such a lecherous union, was punished by fine and imprisonment. Different ideas, however, would seem to have been entertained by some Virginians regarding the union of the white and red races; for a bill was introduced in the Assembly, during the Revolution, offering a bounty for the encouragement of marriages between the whites and the Indians. The bill progressed through the first and second readings, but failed to reach the third on account of the absence of the mover. It was doubtless a mere legislative jest.

Intermar-
riage of
colors

Aside from the slaves, there were numerous indented servants in the colony, who were protected by various special enactments. Some of these had been Englishmen of position, reduced to servitude and exiled for rebelling against the King. The suppression of Monmouth's rebellion in 1685 brought many of this class to America, and Virginia received her share. The infamous Judge Jeffreys, after helping James II. to slake his thirst for blood, turned him toward the policy of deporting the leaders for slaves: it was more profitable, and equally served James' purpose of weakening the Protestant forces in preparation for restoring Catholic supremacy. "I beseech your Majesty," wrote Jeffreys to James, "that I may inform you that each prisoner will be worth ten pound, if not fifteen pound, apiece; and, sir, if your Majesty orders these as you have already designed," (*i. e.* to be hanged) "persons that have

Mon-
mouth
rebels
deported
for
slaves

James'
policy
toward
Mon-
mouth
prisoners

not suffered in the service will run away with the booty." These prisoners could not of course be treated as ordinary servants. They were in part persons of family and education; some were distinguished, and all had been free white men. James was doubly anxious that their term of service should be long, as increasing their value and keeping them from coming back as a Protestant reinforcement. He accordingly wrote to the colonial authorities: "Take all care that they continue to serve for ten years at least, and that they be not permitted in any manner to redeem themselves, by money or otherwise, until that term be fully expired. Prepare a bill for the Assembly of our colony, with such clauses as shall be requisite for this purpose." The Virginians treated the command with disdain; and immediately after the flight of James, the Monmouth exiles were pardoned and set free.

Great
English
kidnap-
ping
scheme

James' example stimulated into immense proportions a regular business with some prominent Englishmen, of kidnapping their fellow-subjects and selling them into slavery. Not alone felons, but young persons and those too ignorant to understand their rights, were pounced upon, hurried across the Atlantic, and sold. The mayor and justices at Bristol organized a conspiracy for this purpose, which flourished exceedingly for years. Small rogues and pilferers, whose worst sentence could have been nothing more than the work-house, were terrorized with threats of hanging, until they prayed for transportation as the only avenue of

escape. Then the profits were divided among the honorable gentlemen who had contrived the scheme. Some of the scoundrels amassed large fortunes: the business was far more remunerative than the regular slave trade, for it involved almost no expense, the public paying the bills. It seems impossible that these shameful things could have happened in England, at the close of the seventeenth century; but history records the blistering truth. There was scarcely any way of detecting it, since the principal officers of the courts and municipality were in the ring. At length the matter came to the knowledge of Jeffreys, who had the justices, aldermen, and mayor indicted in a body, and compelled the mayor, dressed in the gaudy robes of his office, to go down to the criminals' place at the bar and plead for himself as any other rogue would have done. This was good theatrical virtue, but it was a sham for the public eye. The indictments were allowed to lie over without action, on one excuse or another, until the revolution came, when a general pardon released the culprits with all their ill-gotten gains; they suffered no loss except in reputation, which did not matter much when they had so little to lose.

Kidnap-
pers'
sham
trial

The colonists retained a generous feeling for the indented servants, and looked after their protection and welfare. Justices of the peace were commanded to hear and determine their complaints; and each indented person, at the end of his term, was to receive from his master a musket, a small sum of money, and corn enough for seed

Virginia
indented
servants

Late dis-
franchise-
ment of
negroes

and food until his first harvest. But he might not marry during his term of service without the consent of his master, under penalty of having one year added to his period of servitude.

It is worthy of note that previous to 1721 the Virginia laws made no distinction in the franchise on account of color. Even Indians cast their ballots when qualified. But in the year named an act passed the Assembly disfranchising free negroes, mulattoes, and Indians. It was carried to London, and referred for revision to an eminent lawyer, Richard West. He reported against it for these reasons: "Although I agree that slaves are to be treated in such manner as the proprietors of them may think it necessary for their security, yet I cannot see why one *freeman* should be used worse than another merely upon account of his color." But the government ignored the argument and allowed the disfranchising clause: it was opposed to everything tending toward the amelioration or weakening of slavery in the colonies. The governors were instructed not to give even a temporary assent to any laws of that nature, on pain of removal; and as late as 1776 the Earl of Dartmouth declared, "We cannot allow the colonies to check, or discourage in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

English
insistence on
slave
trade

Treason
laws

Some other laws of colonial Virginia are worthy of mention. One of these subjected to the pains of treason all persons riotously assembling to the number of eight or more for the purpose of destroying tobacco. This was aimed at the

“plant-cutters,” already mentioned. Adultery (except of servants or slaves) was fined five hundred pounds of tobacco; fornication one thousand. Women convicted of slander were to be ducked, in default of husbands or guardians paying a fine. This prevailed in all the colonies, with the possible exception of New York and Pennsylvania. Naturally, the husband’s privilege of moderately chastising his wife went with this: if he had to pay for her tongue he must have leave to bridle it.

Ducking
for
slander

As in the Carolinas, so in Virginia, there were no public inns during colonial days; and travelers were entertained at private houses. But to prevent extortion, guests must be notified in advance what their charges would be, or no bill could be collected. As a rule, however, all decent travelers were received and entertained free of charge. Jefferson declared that in his father’s time it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the highway, with the instructions to amicably waylay and bring to their homes any stranger who might chance to pass. Virginia hospitality was always open-handed and universal, and it remains not only proverbial but existent even to the present day: a reputable traveler may, if he choose, journey across the entire breadth of the State without expense to himself. This generous custom prevails indeed in all the Southern States; but the obligation is generally regarded as mutual, for the planter expects to derive as much pleasure and benefit from the conversation

Enter-
tainment
of guests

Immemo-
rial hos-
pitality

of his guest as the latter may receive in the hospitality so freely extended to him.

Educa-
tion of
Indian
boys

Soon after the founding of William and Mary College, an effort was made to bring that institution into service as an educator of Indian youth. A number of Indian boys were accordingly selected from the various tribes of the province, and with the consent of their parents, regularly matriculated in the College. They submitted with docility to the rules of the institution, and readily imbibed the rudiments of an education; but as soon as they reached the usual age for entering upon the war-path or engaging in the chase, they became impatient of further restraint, and in almost every instance returned to their savage customs. The effort, however, was not without good results, for the meagre civilization which these young Indians acquired was not entirely lost. Its beneficial effects were realized in the subsequent good-will of most of the tribes for the Virginians, whose salvation by such a pupil in 1622 will be recalled.

Repres-
sion of
printing

Partly owing to the opposition of several royal governors, literature did not flourish in Virginia during the colonial period. Berkeley's utterances have been recorded (page 1622). Culpeper and Effingham entertained similar views, and ordered that no printing should be done in the province except in publishing the laws, and that was given out only in certain cases and under express conditions. The public printer was ordered to print nothing until the king's pleasure should be known, and Effingham was instructed to allow no press



GEORGE HAMILTON, EARL OF ORKNEY.

to invade the colony, under any pretense whatever, other than the one that printed the laws. Virginia accordingly had no printing-press until 1735, and there was not a bookseller's shop in the colony. Yet the larger planters were neither ignorant nor illiterate. The youth were educated at private schools; and as for books, the few volumes which the inhabitants possessed were loaned from hand to hand, as in a circulating library. From their fewness they were the more fully digested, as in New England; and the mental training was much better than in lazy skimming of many books. Their secluded mode of life also encouraged the habit of thinking; and we find in Virginia, at the beginning of the period of freedom, a galaxy of thinkers, writers, and speakers of exceptional brilliancy. None of the men whose talents then made them leaders—Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Washington, Madison, and so on—had been educated abroad, except Richard Henry Lee, who was of but minor prominence.

Virginia
education

Good
results

In 1704 the titular governorship of Virginia was conferred as a sinecure on George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney; a soldier who had done eminent and valuable service for William III. in his wars in Ireland and Flanders, and later for Anne in the War of the Spanish Succession. He retained it until his death in 1737; and drew from the colonial revenues the enormous sum of \$210,000 for doing nothing. He never visited his jurisdiction, exercised no authority, and delegated it all to deputies; so had Cecil Calvert in Maryland,

Orkney's
titular
governor-
ship

1704-10

Lord Ork-
ney and
his ap-
pointees

but then he had also watched over and promoted the interests of his province. Orkney's first appointee was Edward Nott, who died a few months after his arrival in Virginia, and of whom this mention is all we know. He was succeeded by Edward Jennings, presiding member of the Council, who appears to have been a man of some force and executive ability; the people were at peace and prospered under his incumbency. Robert Hunter, the last and ablest of Orkney's deputies, was captured by a French privateer on his way over in 1707, and retained as a prisoner for more than two years, so that he had no opportunity to serve; in 1710 he was re-sent as governor of New York. After 1710 Orkney ceased even to appoint deputies, and merely drew the salary, while the colony's governors were appointed by the Crown.

Spots-
wood

Colonel Alexander Spotswood came over as royal governor in 1710. His arrival was hailed with joy by the Virginians; for he had already gained distinction in the wars of Europe, and was regarded as a man above the average in ability and good sense. The expectations of the colonists were fulfilled: Spotswood was one of the best and ablest of his class. His easy manners and urbane disposition won public good-will from the first; his honesty, public spirit, and rugged simplicity of nature retained it. One of his first acts was to introduce the writ of habeas corpus, previously withheld; and his announcement that it was done by royal order increased the general spirit of loyalty. He instituted a number of other reforms



LADY SPOTSWOOD.



GOVERNOR ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD.

in the administration of justice and the general affairs of the province.

1710-15

The five previous years of popular government had strengthened the House of Burgesses and built up the independent spirit of the populace, and as Spotswood was a high-churchman and a firm believer in the royal prerogative, he came into conflict with the public on a number of occasions; but they appreciated his sincerity, and he had no very serious clash until the end of his fifth year. In 1715, an invasion of French and Indians from Canada being threatened, he asked for funds for defense; but these were denied him, though not harshly. The Burgesses believed that they understood the situation better than he did, and that the expense was useless. He thereupon applied to the English government for assistance; but before anything serious occurred, the trouble was dissipated and the wisdom of the Burgesses confirmed. He then solicited them for means to discharge the public debt; but in this he also met with a polite but positive refusal. They were unwilling to lay any additional burdens on the colonists, but expressed a readiness to levy a tariff on British merchandise, with a discriminating tax against English ships and in favor of the vessels of Virginia. This proposition sounded so much like high treason that the governor declined to give it the least consideration.

Spots-
wood
thwarted
by As-
sembly

Nevertheless, Spotswood retained the good-will of the colonists. He put forth special efforts in behalf of public education; he was instrumental in

But
popular

1710
et seq.

Spots-
wood's
admin-
istration

raising a large fund for the support of William and Mary College, and he restored its building, burnt several years before his arrival and left in ruins. He also caused schools to be established for the education of Indian children. Moreover, in the administration of all the offices under his control he required and enforced the most rigid economy. He was genuinely popular, but there was always a satisfaction in thwarting a royal governor on general principles, and more or less suspicion of his ulterior motives; and during Spotswood's administration, the people sometimes employed expedients that seemed purposely intended to vex and annoy him. One instance which he took for such occurred soon after his arrival, and it cannot be better set forth than in his own quaint style: "The inclinations of the country," he wrote, "are rendered mysterious by a new and unaccountable humor, which hath obtained in several counties, of excluding gentlemen from being Burgesses, and choosing only persons of mean figure and character." But this was probably a mere surmise on the Governor's part: he had not then become accustomed to the carelessness of the colonists in dress and manners, and the "gentlemen" kept the offices in their own hands.

III
opinion
of the
people

Retracts
it

At any rate, a more intimate acquaintance, at a later date, gave him a much better opinion of the people and the country, for he afterwards wrote: "I will do justice to this country: I have observed here less swearing and prophaneness, less drunkenness and debauchery, less uncharitable feuds

and animosities, and less knaverys and villanys, than in any part of the world where my lot has been." He grew to like the country and the people so well that he continued in the colony all the remainder of his life, a period of eighteen years; and the fact that two of his grandsons were officers in the Continental army speaks well for the democratic predilections of the family. One of these grandsons, Alexander by name, married Eliza Washington, a niece of George Washington.

Spots-
wood's
later life
and
family

Spotswood's exploration of the Alleghanies in 1716 was an event of the greatest importance to Virginia, and the most popular single achievement of his administration. Berkeley's expedition (see page 1623) had left the western country still a mystery; Spotswood's set it at rest. A pass was found, and from the summit of the highest ridge a splendid view of hill and dale and rich green valley lay spread out westward as far as the eye could reach. Those who are familiar with this scene will not wonder at the enthusiasm of the explorers. Spotswood reported his discoveries to the home government, and advised the establishment of a system of fortifications to prevent further encroachments by the French; but his suggestions were unheeded. The French were allowed to acquire undisturbed still vaster regions in the west, by treaty with the Indians or by forceful occupation. Afterward, when they were thoroughly fortified in these possessions, the English government waged for the latter the Seven Years' War, which cost it and the colonies more men and

Person-
ally ex-
plores
the Alle-
ghanies

1716-22

Colonies
profit by
waiting

treasure than France had in all America at the time of Spotswood's expedition. It would seem to exemplify the theft of time by neglect; still, it must be remembered that those forty years gave the colonies an impregnable wall of settled farms to oppose to a mere military occupancy by isolated garrisons.

Shenan-
doah
Valley
settled

For as one of the results of the new revelations, the valley of the Shenandoah was soon afterward settled, and large additions made to Virginia's territory and population. Immigrants came from many quarters: from England, Ireland, and Scotland; also from the older sections of Virginia, while Pennsylvania contributed a colony of Germans and another of Quakers. The new-comers scattered through the rich valley, from its northern to its southern extremity, and opened plantations and built towns that subsequently served as bulwarks against the invasion of the savages. In 1722, the last year of Spotswood's incumbency, he negotiated a treaty with the Six Nations, by which they agreed to abandon all claims to the lands east of the Blue Ridge and south of the Potomac; whereupon this entire region was thrown open to white settlers.

Spots-
wood
removed

But in 1722 he was removed, in consequence of his continuous quarrel with the colonists regarding church livings. The Governor claimed that these were a privilege of his office, while the vestrymen, on the other hand, were just as unyielding in their determination to retain control of the appointments of clergymen and the payment of

their salaries. As the conflict seemed to be irrepressible, Spotswood was removed for the sake of peace. He had built mansions on his estates on the Rapidan and at Yorktown, to which he now retired; and during the remainder of his life he maintained the stately hospitality that his large fortune and honorable reputation justified. On his extensive private domain of forty thousand acres he discovered iron ore, and erecting furnaces, he gave to Virginia a new and valuable source of solid wealth. From 1730 to 1739 Spotswood served as postmaster-general for all the colonies, and instituted such improvements in the transportation of the mails as to bring Philadelphia and Williamsburg within eight days of one another. This was regarded as an extraordinary achievement in that age. It was through his influence also that Benjamin Franklin, then an obscure printer, obtained the appointment of postmaster at Philadelphia. Another worthy and valuable enterprise was his introduction of the vine into Virginia.

1722-41

Spots-
wood in
private
lifeGreat
public
services

In 1740, when Virginia was called upon to furnish a quota of troops for the expedition against Cartagena, in the Spanish possessions of Central America, Spotswood was appointed to take the chief command. He entered upon the discharge of this new duty with his usual enterprise, but fell sick and died at Annapolis while superintending the embarkation of the men. Thus Virginia lost one of her most public-spirited citizens of that era. He was one of the few colonial governors of whose career it is a pleasure to write.

Last days

1700-47 It is a remarkable fact that during the comparatively short space of time between the beginning of the century and the end of Spotswood's administration, in 1722, the population of Virginia doubled; and even this surprising record was surpassed during the succeeding quarter of a century, the population more than doubling. It was probably the most prosperous era in the history of the colony; and much of it was due to the governor's wisdom in establishing peace with the Indians, and obtaining the consequent opportunity for the occupation of the rich interior sections. His aids to its agriculture, industries, and transportation had also much effect.

Growth
in first
half of
eigh-
teenth
century

With this rapid growth of population there came also a decided change in the character of the inhabitants, not only in the new sections but in the older parts of the province. A great majority of the new-comers were dissenters, largely Calvinists, and in the main small farmers, who did their own work and kept no slaves. The Anglican Church made but few inroads into the newly occupied regions; and as the tide-water settlements began to spread out and coalesce with those of the uplands, the whole people were affected by these fresh elements, without the old sentiment of cavalierism and loyalty to the king. But it must not be supposed that even the old church families had remained at the standpoint of Berkeley's time: a spirit of independence was no monopoly of the dissenters. Virginians were always for Virginia first, last, and always. That colony had fewer

Charac-
ter or
new popu-
lation

And old

Tories in proportion to population than any other except those of New England.

1722-47

Spotswood's successor was Sir Hugh Drysdale, of whom scarcely anything is said in history. But we must infer that he administered his office acceptably, since the colony continued in peace and the population went on increasing with amazing rapidity.

Drysdale

Drysdale was succeeded in 1728—four years before the birth of Washington—by one William Gooch, of Yarmouth, England, who had won some reputation under Marlborough in the Low Countries. Gooch continued in office until 1747, and his administration in general was so satisfactory that when he sailed for England on his return home, it was said of him that he departed “amid the blessings and tears of his people, among whom he had lived as a wise and beneficent father.” Nevertheless, Governor Gooch did not act in perfect harmony with the people of Virginia. He was a bigoted churchman, a firm believer in the royal prerogative, and an intense aristocrat. These sentiments of course did not altogether suit a majority of the Virginians; and yet Gooch made himself so popular with the masses that there were few royal governors who held their affections in a larger degree.

Gooch

The New Lights, as the Methodists were then called, were the special terror of the Governor's soul. Whitefield came to Virginia during the latter part of Gooch's term (in 1740), preaching equality and the free salvation of men; and his power as

White-
field in
Virginia

1740-5

Gooch de-
nounces
dissent-
ers

a speaker gained for him there the same spontaneous welcome that had been accorded to him in New England and Pennsylvania. President Blair, of William and Mary College, even had the audacity to invite him to preach in Williamsburg, the capital of the province, and the head-centre of the aristocratic element of the colony. Gooch was greatly outraged at these proceedings, and later (in 1745) issued an address bitterly opposed to all religious organizations except the Established Church, and proposing punishments for other sects that should dare to convene in public.

Ignored

But by this time, sentiment in Virginia had progressed so far toward independence that the Governor's fulminations were regarded as the harmless vaporings of an excited mind. They did not even have the effect of lowering him in public estimation. The people smiled at his foibles, and paid no attention to his suggestions. They simply went on their way, thinking as well of him as ever. Indeed, Virginia was getting well up toward the head of the independence class, and royal governors were esteemed only in proportion to the public spirit and loyalty to the people which they manifested. In this respect Governor Gooch was all that could be desired, and he was respected accordingly. If his religious convictions were antiquated and impracticable, they did not affect his progressive views on other subjects.

Therefore, in 1740, when England among other powers went to war with France and Spain and their allies on account of the Austrian succession,

the Governor joined the expedition (already mentioned) that was organized in the colonies to co-operate with Admiral Vernon in the attempted capture of Cartagena, then the principal town of New Granada in Central America. The history of this place up to that date had been an interesting one. Founded by the Spaniards in 1533, they had spent twenty-nine millions of dollars in fortifying it. The investment proved to be an unprofitable one, for in 1544 the French captured the town and fortifications in spite of their apparent impregnability. Forty-one years afterward the place was taken by Sir Francis Drake, and held by England until 1697, when France once more came into possession. It was subsequently restored to Spain, and at the beginning of the war of 1740 the distinguished Spanish general, Sebastian Eslaba, was appointed viceroy of New Granada, with his headquarters at Cartagena. Immediately on his arrival he set to work to repair the old fortifications and to build new ones; and in this instance he made them impregnable, as the result proved.

Vernon's fleet was the most powerful that had ever been sent to the Spanish-American coasts; and in conjunction with the strong land force which the colonies had supplied, there was every prospect of victory. The fleet reached Cartagena about the first of November, and the bombardment commenced on the fifth of that month. The siege lasted until May of the following year, during which time the English lost seventeen ships and large numbers of men, who perished in battle and

1740

Governor
Gooch
in the
Spanish
warCarta-
genaVernon's
long
siege

1740-1

Deadly
failure
before
Carta-
gena

by sickness in the deadly climate. More died of disease than from the casualties of war, although there were numerous spirited assaults both by sea and land. The English had to contend with the yellow fever which infests that region in its deadliest form, besides other plagues common to the tropics. Death held his carnival in the camp and on shipboard. The expedition was disastrous in every respect. The sands of the shore and the waters of the bay were peopled with the bodies of Englishmen and colonists. The fortifications which Eslaba had established could neither be overcome nor battered down, and they stand even to the present time as a monument to the skill of one of the few great Spanish military engineers.

Why
attack
failed

In magnitude and equipment, Admiral Vernon's force was far greater and more formidable than the one which gained so brilliant a victory over the French at Louisbourg five years later, and in a technical military sense it was better handled; but then, in war as in religion the letter killeth. The fighting in the Louisbourg campaign was done by the colonists alone, and in their own way; but at Cartagena they deferred to the regulars and submitted to the control of regular officers, whose curse is always a martinet pedantry that must follow rules through mud and mire, even if the rules were made for wholly different conditions. Governor Gooch was severely wounded in one of the assaults on the fortifications, and he also contracted the fever which carried off so many of the soldiers; but he survived, and returned with honor to

Gooch
wounded

P O E M S

ON

George Washington

Several Occasions.

*Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur, & si ex his
Studiis delectatio sola peteretur; tamen, ut opinor, hanc
animi remissionem humanissimam & liberalissimam judi-
catis.*

Cic.

By a Gentleman of VIRGINIA.



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THE FIRST VIRGINIA BOOK.

Washington's Copy.

3-10

Numb. 6.

THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestic.

From Friday, September 3, to Friday, September 10, 1736.

The MONITOR.

No. 6.

Simia quam similibus, turpissima bestia, nobis?
Cic. de Nat. Deorum.

HE other Night, as I was lolling in my Elbow-Chair, in my Study, I was contriving some Method to give our Fair *Letitia Tattle* a View of my long Note; when, of a sudden, I was surpriz'd with Three Taps at the Door of my outward Chamber. My Man *Dominic* going to the Door, which was only half shut, flew back again in a great Fright, and told me he was sure it was the Devil, for he never saw such a Cigar before. Pray, Sir, said I, desire the civil Gentleman to walk in; and do you set Chairs.

At the first Interview, I was inclin'd to my Man's Opinion, that 'twas a Devil; but whether Male, or Female, was in Doubt.

The Figure was upwards of Six Feet, a fawthy Complexion, a large Bottle-Note, that spread to far on each Cheek, that took a great deal off from the Length of the Face; the Eyes no bigger than Ferrets, and full as Red; the Mouth very large, and the Under-Lip hung over the Chin. The Dreis was a Man's Hat; a Woman's short Cloak, that hung loose down to the Waist, which play'd to and fro, and gave Air to the Body; (which was without Stays;) from the Waist downwards, was a large Pair of Trowers fit for a Burgher-Master.

As soon as we were seated, *Dominic* trembling, got behind my Chair, and whisper'd me, the Candle burnt blue. I order'd him to withdraw, and that the Door after him, which he was willing to comply with: After taking a thorough View, I desired to know in what Manner I was to address my self, Sir, or Madam? The Answer was, I am a Woman, Sir, and Mistress of a large Family; I find you are much surpriz'd at my Dreis, therefore I shall explain it, and proceed to my Business.

You are to know, Sir, I am a Woman of Fashion: I was born and bred in *France*, and the Dreis you see me in, was *French* originally, but now modeliz'd.

In the Years 19 and 20, which were the Two Years, *France*, *Holland*, and *England*, were searching for the *Philosopher's Stone*, I was then at what we Women call, Years of Discretion; that is, to be capable of Distinguishing, to know what's Becoming, and what not. In the first Place we, One and All, agreed to shave-----our Heads; and to supply this Defect (if any were so stupid as to think it one,) a Peruke was propos'd, cur'd quite round, and very short, like unto that of a Shock Dog, which we call the *Tete de Mutton*: Upon this a Cuff was faw'd; so that without any Trouble, we could dreis, and undreis the Head. This I left off upon my Arrival; and to supply the Place, betook me to the Man's Hat.

The next Thing to complete our *French Dreis*, was the *Robe de Chambre*, what the Vulgar call'd a *Sac*. This was a loose Gown full of Pleats, and without any Girdle: In which Habit we frequently took the Air on Horseback. I must inform you, our Manner there was to ride on Stride; therefore to answer that Part of the Dreis, you see me look to the Waist; As to my Breeches, they are an Improvement upon the Fashion, and what our Sex, when accusom'd to, will not dislike to wear.

I told her, I thank'd her for her Relation, but that I was going to be busy, therefore desired her to be Brief: To which she reply'd, Sir, I'll take up as little of your Time as possible, and therefore shall come to the Point.

I am inform'd you are acquainted with the *MONITOR*; and therefore what I have to propose, is to serve him: I love to do all the Good in my Power: I have Six Daughters (God blest them all!) and each of them capable of any Post he shall think proper to confer upon them.

Here I was more confounded than ever, and took the Woman to be mad; to which I reply'd, Madam, What Post are they desirous of? O! Sir, reply'd the Lady, they have different Talents. There's my Eldest Daughter *Miss Leer*, is as good a Girl at Attraction, as any in the Country; and will draw a Circle about her immediately where ever she goes.

Then my Second, *Miss Sly*; She has not one Bit of *French* in her, she's as Secret as Death.--- Believe me, Sir, she was once in a Company of 12 Women for 6 Hours, and never opened her Lips. You may yet her down for some important Occasion.

My Third Daughter, *Miss Filget*; She's here and there and every where; she never misses a Tea-Table, if there be Ten within the Compass of her Visits in a Day. There she hears Slander, Back-biting, and Scandal; which may turn out to some Use.

As to my Fourth Daughter, *Amoret*; She's a fine Girl, that's the Truth on't: She's for ever moiss'ning her Lips with her Tongue, that gives them a pouting Ripeness that tempts all the young Fellows in the Town; then she's a Girl of a very inquisitive Temper; so she may be excellent in her Way.

My Fifth Daughter, *Phillis*; She's an unaccountable Girl. The first Week of every Moon, she's dying for Love of some *Alois*, or other.--- She's for ever receiving or answering of *Billet-doux*, and Scraps of Poetry; which may not be amiss.

As to my youngest Daughter, *Euphemia*; She's courted by Sir *Politick* *Houdelle*; he can inform her how Affairs stand in---- (but no Matter) She's a Girl of a bright Genius, and very willing; therefore, I take her to be undeniable.

And now, Sir, I have given you an Account of my Family. I live a great Way off; and as this was my chief Errand, I hope you'll dispatch me to my Satisfaction. If you please to enjoin them or me to Secretly, they're within Call.

To which I reply'd, since they were so desirous of Employment, I would engage them for the *MONITOR*; but could not put them into immediate Service, 'til the *MONITOR* had weigh'd the Matter, and considered their respective Qualifications: That if the pleas'd to send for them, I would talk to them: Upon which the good Lady, with the utmost Transport, seiz'd hold of a Pen, call'd for Half a Sheet of Paper, and dispatch'd her Messenger directly. I importun'd her, in the mean Time, to refresh her self, and recruit her Spirits with a Glass of Wine, after her Fatigue; and in a short Space of Time, the Ladies appear'd. After a little Discourse, they told me, if I distrust'd their Honours, they were willing to be enjoin'd by Oath. Upon which I thought I could not administer any Oath upon the Occasion, more binding than that of the *Free Masons*; and, after fastning the Door, and going thro' some of the usual Forms, I tender'd it to them, which they took with great Solemnity.

N. B. Their different Employments will be settled as soon as possible.

Virginia. Five years later he was appointed a brigadier-general in the expedition to invade Canada, but declined the honor. The King thereupon created him a baronet, and commissioned him a major-general, in recognition of his services at Cartagena. He accepted the former honor, but declined the latter, adhering to his fixed purpose not to engage further in military life.

1741
et seq.

Gooch
has
enough
of war

Lawrence Washington, half-brother of George, was a captain in the Cartagena expedition, and afterward named his country seat on the Potomac Mount Vernon, in honor of the Admiral, for whom he had formed an earnest attachment.

Mount
Vernon

Meanwhile, that which had been dreaded by previous royal governors had come to pass in Virginia. In 1736 a weekly newspaper was established at Williamsburg by William Parks, who had been colonial printer for Maryland and Virginia during the previous nine years, and about 1727 or 1728 he established the *Maryland Gazette* at Annapolis; in 1733 he removed to Virginia. Parks called his southern effort the *Williamsburg Gazette*, and issued it weekly at Williamsburg. It was a feeble member of the newspaper family; but it was a beginning, and it held out greater promise for the future. Virginia had now entered upon the high-road of progress. Thenceforward, according to the predictions of the royal governors, there was nothing left for the colony but intelligence and ruin. However, a new era of town-planting and plantation-establishing began about this time. Progress and the newspaper

First
news-
paper in
Virginia

Marks
progress

1736-48 seemed to come in together, and go hand in hand, as they do in our day. Virginia broadened her phylacteries and increased her possessions intellectually as materially.

Town growth
Norfolk
Richmond
Petersburg

New towns sprang up and flourished where spécial legislation had previously been unable to produce them. Increased demands for the planters' products enlarged the scope of agriculture and created new centres of traffic. Norfolk, which had been founded in 1705, but languished for want of encouragement, took on a fresh lease of life, and was incorporated as a borough in 1736. The following year, William Byrd, a wealthy and very estimable citizen, laid out a town at the falls of the James, partly on land which had formerly been owned by Nathaniel Bacon, and christened it Richmond. Five years afterward—namely, in 1742—Richmond was incorporated as a city; and in 1779, just before the close of the Revolutionary war, it became the capital of the State. In 1748 the same enterprising citizen established another town on the Appomattox River, and called it Petersburg.

Winchester

Winchester and Staunton belong to the same prosperous era, as well as other towns and cities that are still prominent as industrial and commercial centres in Virginia. The first settlers at Winchester were principally Germans, and the place became famous during the Revolution for the large number of men that it furnished to the Continental armies; as well as for the fact that it was the home of General Daniel Morgan. New counties



COLONEL WILLIAM BYRD.

were mapped out, and the whole face of the country smiled with prosperity. Among the new counties was Albemarle, well up in the Blue Ridge mountains, and named in honor of the Earl of Albemarle, who had succeeded Orkney as titular governor in 1737. He never came to America, but farmed out the office as his predecessor had done, reserving the larger part of the salary for himself. Albemarle was the last of his family, and likewise the last of the titular governors of Virginia.

1737-58

Albe-
marle
given
Orkney's
sinecure

Governor Gooch retired from office in 1747, and two years later returned to England. For a period of five years Virginia remained without an acting governor, the duties of the executive office being discharged meanwhile by three successive presidents of the Council, namely, Robinson, Thomas Lee, and Lewis Burwell.

Five
years'
inter-
regnum

In 1752 Robert Dinwiddie, a Scotchman, came over as lieutenant-governor under Albemarle. He was a Scotch customs clerk who had caught his superior stealing and exposed him, and as a reward was made a colonial official; but though honest by penal statute, he was a man of no intrinsic probity or administrative capacity, and with the conventional defects of a part of his race: arrogant, avaricious, and contentious. He is remembered principally on account of his relations to Washington. The main events of his administration are recorded in the history of the Seven Years' War. Many of his acts displayed such gross incompetence as to disgust Washington, who was then in

Din-
widdie

1752-8 Din-
widdie's
rapacity
and
recall

command of the colonial troops. His insolence brought him into frequent collisions with the House of Burgesses, while his cupidity led him to exact illegal fees and employ other questionable methods for his personal benefit. He was recalled in 1758, and at that time was accused of appropriating to his own use \$100,000 placed in his hands to compensate the Virginians for expenditure in the French war in excess of their proportion. He never succeeded in making a satisfactory statement regarding the application of this money, and the colonists quite naturally believed that it became a part of his personal estate.

We have now reached the beginning of the Seven Years' War, where the history of all the colonies blended. The succeeding events in the remaining period of the colonial era of Virginia are therefore given in that connection.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MARYLAND TO THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Soon after the Restoration, Philip Calvert—who it will be remembered was secretary of the province under Fendall—received from Cecilus, the second Lord Baltimore, a commission as governor of Maryland. The commission was accompanied by a letter from the King, commanding all officers and other subjects within the colony to assist in the establishment of the proprietary's jurisdiction. The command was obeyed without a murmur; for the people had become heartily tired of the confusion and anarchy which had so long prevailed. There was doubt also as to what course would be pursued by the new King, and none of the colonists cared to run the risk of exciting his ill-will. All likewise had the utmost confidence in the high character of Lord Baltimore, whose reputation for justice and liberality gave assurance that there would be no resort to religious intolerance.

One of the first acts of the new government was the arrest and trial of Josias Fendall on the charge of treason. His past conduct had alienated most of his following; and having but few friends and very little influence, he was easily convicted. Execution would have followed conviction except

1660-1

Philip
Calvert
governor

Fendall
convicted
of
treason

1660
et seq.Fendall's
lenient
treat-
ment

Repeated

for the clemency of the proprietary, who shrank from the shedding of blood. He accordingly extended a pardon to the unfaithful governor, on condition that he should pay a small fine and be forever excluded from all positions of trust. Fendall soon manifested the quality of his gratitude by stirring up a fresh insurrection among a small body of malcontents. This, however, was easily suppressed, for Fendall no longer possessed any reputable following. His accomplices were pardoned without prosecution, but Fendall was sentenced to banishment (December 1661). Again he was saved through the interposition of Lord Baltimore, who commuted his sentence to the payment of a moderate fine; and he disappeared from public view (or ours) for twenty years, when he again floated to the surface as a characterless agitator and inciter of sedition.

Mary-
land's
happy
condition

At the period of the Restoration, Maryland contained a population of about 12,000 persons. Five years later it had increased to 16,000. The era of peace and prosperity that now set in had not before been equaled. Within a few years after the accession of Charles II. it was estimated that one hundred ships sailed annually from the Maryland ports to England and other foreign countries. At this happy period the colony, it is said, contained not a single object of charity. The black slaves constituted the only class of inhabitants compelled to live and labor without hope. The justice and liberality of the laws enabled the indented white servants and laborers to overcome

their environment and rise rapidly to the condition of free proprietors. They were never regarded or treated as slaves. They had a place in society, and were entitled to an allotment of land at the end of their term of service. Some of the best families in Maryland to-day could, if they chose, trace their ancestry back to this class of immigrants. It was a common expedient for bankrupt tradesmen and indigent servants, in England and other European countries, to adopt this resource for improving their condition or retrieving their fortunes.

1660
et seq.

The in-
dented
servants

The ease with which a living could be made, and the comparative affluence that soon attended it, reflected their benefits especially upon the feminine part of the population. With less drudgery, women lived longer, kept their youth better, and had more time to develop their natural atmosphere, a polished and graceful society; and men with softened manners paid them more courteous attentions,—though in the substantial of deference and kindness which have given American women the most enviable lives of all their sex, it was precisely the old hardships, which wore out women so fast, that forced men to cherish them so carefully. The new conditions told especially on personal comeliness: Maryland girls have long been noted for charm of face and person, and from its cultured and refined society have sprung many famous beauties, in colonial and Revolutionary times and down to the present. No class of women, however, profited relatively so much as the female

Golden
age of
women

1660
et seq.

Rise of
female
servants

emigrants who came over as bond-servants. Scarcely above serfs in the old countries, without hope of being more during life than starveling drudges and semi-paupers, here their hands were sought in early marriage by thrifty farmers or artisans; and from the humble position of domestics they rose to the proud and happy state of mistresses of their own homes, almost always comfortable and often well-to-do homes.

Currency
and
coinage

Money was scarce, and tobacco had long since become the medium of exchange. An effort was made in the first Assembly after the Restoration to supply the deficiency of a circulating medium. A mint was established at Annapolis, whose product was by law to be of as good silver as English sterling; and the proprietary agreed to receive this money in settlement of his dues. This act in Maryland, and the New England ordinance of 1652, are the only instances of the assertion in the English colonies of the sovereign right to coin money. No objection was ever urged by the British government against the Maryland effort, as against New England under Randolph's acrid malice; but it soon fell into disuse on account of its impracticability. The colony possessed no silver mines, and much loss was suffered in recoin-ing foreign pieces by the requirement of sterling purity.

Once again was persecution banished from the dominions of the Baltimores; toleration was accorded to all forms of worship. In consequence of this wise and humane policy, great numbers of

the oppressed and unhappy fled from Europe and found refuge in the pleasant lands around the Chesapeake. Even Quakers were no longer disturbed in their public worship; and George Fox, who visited the colony during the latter part of this period, proclaimed with satisfaction that members of the Assembly and Council, justices of the peace, and persons of quality, were present at "a large and heavenly meeting" of his people. It was not until 1688, however, that full indulgence was granted to them. Previous to that time they were often subjected to fines and imprisonment for their refusal to perform military duty; while their unbending determination not to be sworn on civil processes sometimes resulted in forfeiture of property.

But the evil seeds of religious intolerance remained, and bore bitter fruit at a later period. The Church of England was the chief offender, in succession to the Puritans, not from a worse spirit but greater power: maintained by public taxes and enforced by government arms at home, its official heads were resolved to establish the same conditions in America wherever possible. About the time of Cecilius Calvert's death in 1675, one of them wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, giving a most doleful account of the moral state of the colony. Its chief ethical default was that there was no legal provision for the support of ministers of his cloth. The Catholics, he declared, had provided for their priests, and the Quakers maintained their speakers; but no care

1660-75

Quakers
left in
peaceAnglican
Church
wishes
estab-
lishment

1662-75 had been taken to build up a Protestant church. The Puritans in fact had a flourishing society there; but this Anglican either regarded them as not Christians, or not of sufficient importance to be noticed. There were, he states, but three or four Church ministers in Maryland; and from the want of a public establishment for them the colony had fallen into a most deplorable condition, having become "a pest-house of iniquity," in which the Lord's day was openly profaned. He suggested as a remedy the endowment of the Church of England at the public expense. Persistent efforts of the Anglican ministers to this end were frustrated only by the determined opposition of Lord Baltimore; they did succeed in fomenting insurrection, as we shall presently observe.

Anglican
Church
and
public
morals

Charles
Calvert

In 1662 Lord Baltimore appointed his eldest son, Charles Calvert, resident governor of Maryland, and sent him to America to make himself acquainted with the people and their conditions. Charles was now thirty-three, highly accomplished, and possessing all of those excellent qualities of heart and head for which his family was distinguished. He remained in Maryland fourteen years, until after his father's death, and was almost universally loved and respected; although during a considerable portion of that time the colony was torn by an insurrectionary spirit, in opposition to the feudal supremacy of the proprietary, and fostered by the Anglican ministers in their determination to have an official establishment. They eventually succeeded in restoring

the old order of religious proscription, and in 1692 accomplished at last their purpose of having their enemies help pay their expenses.

1662-71

But while the youthful Governor encountered the opposition of a large proportion of the inhabitants in his official capacity, he enjoyed their personal esteem and love in a very marked degree. These were expressed in numerous cash "acts of gratitude," passed by successive Assemblies as special testimonials of their regard. A striking instance of this character occurred in 1671, when the Assembly passed an act levying a duty of two shillings sterling on every hogshead of tobacco exported from the colony: one-half of the amount so realized to be applied in maintaining a magazine of arms for the public defense, and defraying other expenses of the government; while the other moiety was settled on the proprietary, in consideration of his receiving merchantable tobacco for his quit-rents and alienation fines at twopence per pound. This provision was soon afterward continued during the life of the heir of the proprietary, by another special "Act of Gratitude to Charles Calvert the Governor." This act was introduced by a preamble that is worth preserving: "Reflecting with gratitude," it says, "on the unwearied care of the proprietary, and the vast expense that he has been put to in preserving the inhabitants in their lives and liberty, and the increase and improvement of their estates," it provided for the permanent benefits above recited. It was a rare instance of the manifestation

"Acts of
Grati-
tude" to
Charles
Calvert

of public gratitude toward a personal ruler: Penn later on nearly wore out his life trying to get back his own money.

Encour-
agement
of slave
trade

At the same session was passed an act for "encouraging the importation of negro slaves," in compliance with the needs of the growing plantations. It was not till the immense growth of the slave population alarmed the whites, in fear of being swamped and also of having slave property too much cheapened, that the colonies undertook to check the traffic.

Special
laws

A number of important or interesting laws were enacted during the early period of Charles Calvert's administration. One of these made it a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment, to publish or spread abroad false information, knowing it to be such. This measure was aimed at those who brought the colony into trouble with the home government by disseminating falsehoods. Other acts were passed to encourage the growing of English grain, and the raising and manufacturing of hemp and flax. The linen industry became prominent in several of the colonies at an early date, and was usually encouraged by legal enactments as here, and as were other manufactures.

The
tobacco
problem

One of the leading measures affecting agriculture was an act prohibiting the raising of tobacco for a certain period. Under Virginia we have discussed the causes which led to attempts at limiting its cultivation. The Maryland act was in imitation of an act of the Virginia Assembly, and was passed at the solicitation of that colony; but

Governor Calvert refused to sanction it, as a hardship on the poor. Tobacco being the principal medium of exchange, the enforcement of such a law would have left the poorer classes without the means of paying their debts or purchasing the necessaries of life; it would have been equivalent not merely to discontinuing the coinage of the precious metals now,—increasing debts by enhancing the value of the article in which they were payable, and placing the poor at the mercy of the rich,—but to forcing every man to work on short time, as the limitation of product would not have been compensated by enhancement of price. Calvert's veto was approved by Lord Baltimore.

About the time of Governor Calvert's arrival in America, serious disturbances were threatened by the encroachments of Dutch colonists on the western banks of the Delaware. They had settled in considerable numbers on land near Cape Henlopen, which the Baltimores claimed as being within the limits of their charter; and having occupied a portion of the disputed field before the first Lord Baltimore's charter was issued, regarded the latter as interlopers, and pressed upon them in a manner that threatened an early rupture. But the matter was handled by Calvert with such wisdom and moderation that it eventually inured to the benefit of his colony. His first step was to send a vigorous remonstrance to the Hollanders, backed by an armed force of sufficient strength to lend emphasis to his complaint. The Dutchmen, seeing that the English governor was

1662
et seq.

Charles
Calvert
vetoes
tobacco
restrictions

Troubles
with
Dutch
colonists

1666

Naturali-
zation of
Dutch

in earnest, and the Dutch dominion in America having now vanished, agreed either to vacate the disputed territory or become members of his colony. Thereupon the Maryland Assembly of 1666 passed an act for their naturalization, and a majority of them availed themselves of the measure. This was the first naturalization act passed by any of the American colonies. Its scope was soon afterward enlarged so as to embrace immigrants from other foreign nations, and resulted in attracting thither a great stream of immigration.

Valuable
Indian
treaty

Governor Calvert's wise policy was also manifested in another direction. While the Marylanders had refrained from encroaching upon the rights of the Indians, the latter could not but be suspicious of the good intentions of the whites, and the peace between the two races was but an armed neutrality. Calvert decided to put an end to this unsatisfactory state of affairs, and called a meeting of all the great sachems of the tribes within his dominions. They came to the assembly clad in the gaudy costumes of their race, and with the pomp and circumstance which was essential to Indian prestige; and a treaty was concluded, by which a large territory was guaranteed to the tribes represented and their descendants. They appreciated the advantages of having neighbors from whom they could obtain the comforts of life in exchange for the fruits of the chase, and entered into the arrangement with the utmost good-will. The treaty was ratified by the Assembly and

confirmed from time to time thereafter, until the lands remained in undisputed possession of the tribes for nearly a century. Meanwhile, through this wise course and a like policy, peace was maintained and both races were greatly benefited.

Long
peace
with
Indians

By this treaty, all the tribes within the province proclaimed themselves subjects of the proprietary government. That this was far more than the usual meaningless form, and that the Indians sincerely accepted and respected the agreement, is shown by two striking facts among others. First, ever afterward the inferior chiefs, on the death of a principal sachem, refused to acknowledge his successor until he had been recognized by the Maryland governor. Second, in 1677, during the new Lord Baltimore's absence in England, a tribe of Indians at war with Virginia attacked a Maryland settlement by mistake, and killed several of the inhabitants. No sooner did they learn the facts than they dispatched ambassadors to the authorities of that province, offering the most humble apologies, and voluntarily agreeing to make full reparation for the tragedy as far as lay in their power. This was probably the only instance of the kind in American history.

Indian
respect
for the
treaties

Cecilius, the second Lord Baltimore, died November 30, 1675. For more than forty-three years he had governed the province through his deputies, his eldest and favorite son Charles acting as such during the last thirteen years of his life. Sometimes his trust was grossly deceived, but the personal benevolence and the public spirit of the

Cecilius
Calvert

1642-75

Cecilius
Calvert's
states-
manship

“father of Maryland” (fairly so called though he never visited it in person) were never doubted. He was married at eighteen to the beautiful Anne Arundel, whose name is still borne by one of the counties of Maryland. It was a constant maxim of his, which he often recommended to the legislative assemblies of his province, “that by concord a small colony may grow into a great and renowned nation; but by dissensions mighty and glorious kingdoms have declined and fallen into nothing.” His glory as the first of American legislators—or those of any other country, for that matter—to recognize by statute the great principle of religious freedom, need not be slurred because his personal and religious interest coincided with his temper: there would be little reform in the world if it were all left to those who have neither need nor liking for it. Even Roger Williams’ creed broadened largely under the spur of his colony’s interest, and the thirteen colonies had more intimate grievances than a theory of taxation.

Checks
Catholic
zeal

But the mildness and sincerity of the Baltimores did not animate all their followers. The Jesuit fathers of Maryland were not less anxious for the supremacy of their system than Anglican or Puritan ministers; but they were held in check by the determined will of the proprietaries. In October 1642 Lord Baltimore had written to the fathers checking their zeal, and reminding them that they must conform to the laws of England. Father White, sadly impressed by this injunction, wrote in his journal: “Occasion of suffering

has not been wanting from those from whom rather it was proper to expect aid and protection, who, too intent upon their own affairs, have not feared to violate the immunities of the Church." It is unpleasant to add that a Protestant historian, commenting on this incident, declares it "evident that Lord Baltimore was more fearful lest his property should be taken from him, than solicitous for the advancement of his Church." This sneer, from one who would have been full of pious wrath at the intrinsic intolerance of Romanism had Baltimore done as the fathers wished, shows that men should not act from expectancy of human justice or appreciation.

1642-75

Unfair
slurs at
Cecilius

Immediately on learning of his father's death, Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore, already the actual governor for thirteen years, assumed the full duties and responsibilities of proprietary. Soon afterwards he convened a special session of the Assembly (over which he presided in person), to make a thorough revision of the provincial laws, many of them now obsolete or out of harmony with existing conditions. He and the Assembly labored earnestly in this work, and measurably succeeded. Some laws were repealed, some confirmed, some amended; those whose meaning was obscure or uncertain were rewritten in plainer terms. It was well worth the effort, and left Maryland with as complete and perfect a code as any of the colonies.

His son's
law
revision

One of the first acts of this Assembly was to reaffirm and expand the old law of religious freedom,

1649-75 first enacted in 1649. Its scope was now so amplified as to embrace absolute legal equality for all *orthodox* Christians. Its purpose was to remove all opportunity for offense, by prohibiting the use of irritating words or expressions concerning their faith. None were permitted to refer in reproachful terms to the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, or the Evangelists; or to apply to any person the opprobrious epithets of heretic, schismatic, idolater, Presbyterian, Independent, popish priest, Jesuit, Jesuited priest, Lutheran, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, or any other insulting epithet that might wound the feelings of sectaries. This was essentially the same as the prohibition in mediæval Ireland of slogans like "Crom-aboo" and "Butler-aboo," and similar cries elsewhere; or Orange processions now. When offensive words or songs are sure to produce riots, the magistrate has the right to suppress them in the interests of public peace.

Religious
nick-
names
forbidden

Only
Trini-
tarians
tolerated

Denying the Trinity, however, was punished by death and confiscation of property. Under this law, Unitarians would have been handed over to the executioner along with murderers and highwaymen, and a Jew would have had no right to worship the God of his fathers; not to mention that an agnostic would probably never even have reached a law court. Baltimore could not have carried the law further in that age without setting the moral feeling of the community against him and wrecking his entire influence; and it is doubtful if he ever thought of doing so. Even as it was,

the law greatly injured his popularity and led to his undoing. It aroused hot protests even from those whom it was intended to protect; and he was denounced as an infidel for fostering a measure so offensive to God, who belonged simultaneously and exclusively to several hostile sects anxious to break each other's heads.

Still, the liberal law enticed thither more than one Church of England man fleeing from persecution in Massachusetts, and many a Puritan escaping with his life from Virginia. But all were not treated with the same degree of liberality. The Quakers were discriminated against on account of their peculiar tenets. They met with little more encouragement in Maryland than they did in Virginia and Massachusetts. And yet they were themselves to blame in a measure for many acts of persecution. They were not all the mild and quaintly courteous Friends with whom we are familiar: they were in many instances bigoted and obtrusive, and having little respect for the opinions of others, they could not expect the fullest consideration for their own. In Maryland they were persecuted with special rigor during Fendall's unlovely administration. In 1658, two of their preachers, Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, were treated with such severity by the authorities as to be compelled to flee the country. They traveled northward into the uninhabited forests, where they slept beneath the canopy of the merciful heavens and subsisted upon wild fruits and nuts. At length, chancing upon a tribe of friendly Indians,

1658-75

Toleration Act unpopular

Quakers persecuted

Sheltered by Indians

they were treated by them with greater humanity than by their fellow-Christians. In requital they endeavored to convert their savage hosts to Christianity, but without avail.

Convict
importa-
tions for-
bidden

At the same revisory session above, an act was passed prohibiting the importation of felons into Maryland. All the colonies had suffered from this evil. Previous to the reign of Elizabeth there had been no provision in English common or statute law for the exportation of rogues; but under that princess a statute was enacted giving the required authority. Its purpose was merciful, and for England it was doubtless beneficial; but it was detrimental to the morals and industrial interests of America. In some instances convicted felons had the privilege of choosing between death and banishment; and naturally preferred the latter. We have noted the use of this provision as part of a huge kidnapping conspiracy, in the last chapter. As soon as the colonies began to settle, America became the natural dumping-ground for this class of criminals. Chief Justice Popham may have thought of making the northeastern coast of New England a Botany Bay; it is often asserted that he actually did so in his colony, but this is a mistake. More or less of it was done in Virginia for some years, however, and in other colonies. At last it became unbearable, all of them protested against it, and most of them enacted laws prohibiting it. During the Commonwealth it was measurably suspended; but it was resumed immediately on the Restoration, and thereafter so

Also by
other
colonies

assiduously persisted in that for some years before the outbreak of the Revolution, the importation of British felons into Maryland alone averaged nearly four hundred annually. The English authorities paid not the slightest attention to the Maryland law noted above, but continued to send the convicts in constantly increasing numbers. Not all these exiles were objectionable persons, however: some were religious dissenters, some political rebels, some unruly but essentially sound-hearted; most of these as good stock as any emigrants.

1675

Maryland
used as a
convict
settle-
ment

At the conclusion of this memorable session of the Assembly, Lord Baltimore announced his intended departure for England. Thereupon the members, in acknowledgment of his many signal favors to the people, and as a token of their own love and respect, unanimously desired his acceptance of all the unappropriated public tobacco in the stores of the province. Thanking them, he declined the offer, on the ground that the colony needed the funds more than he did. Other public testimonials showed sincere popular affection; and we must look to other sources to explain the disaffection which manifested itself immediately after his departure.

Testimo-
nial to
the third
Balti-
more

As previously intimated, the concession of religious liberty was by no means a popular measure. Catholics and Protestants each looked with disfavor upon the privileges extended to the others; and in their dislike and dread of the papists all Protestant denominations were *pro tempore* united.

All par-
ties dis-
approve
tolera-
tion

1675
et seq.

Why
Catholic
tolera-
tion was
sus-
pected

The toleration established by the first Baltimores, even though interrupted, with the naturalization of foreigners lately introduced, had attracted a multitude of Protestants not only from England, but from France and other Continental countries. The increasing French persecutions, which long precluded the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, kept the Huguenots alive with distrust and hatred of the church whose very basis was suppression of heresy; while the English Protestants regarded Catholic enfranchisement as merely a cloak under which popish bigotry could work its evil designs. In his efforts to establish universal forbearance, it seemed as if the proprietary had set free the whole brood of sectarian discord; and in the midst of these disturbing elements, all sense of personal obligation disappeared. In his absence Lord Baltimore was no longer regarded as the liberal legislator or the enterprising proprietary, but as a sinister agent of the Church of Rome, employed to establish papal rule in the province which he owned.

Balti-
more dis-
credited

Prot-
estant
charges
against
him

It was now about the middle of the reign of Charles II. The suspected Catholicism of Charles (a suspicion justified by facts), the open Catholicism of his brother and heir, the dominating French influences at the court, all kept the militant Anglican spirit resolutely alive. Immediately on Baltimore's arrival in London, he found himself assailed by complaints and charges preferred by the Virginia colonists and the English bishops. The accusations of the Virginians, relating to

Indian treaties and the old boundary troubles, were soon disposed of; but the controversy with the prelates proved to be of a more stubborn character. Compton, the Bishop of London, acting under instructions of the primate, re-echoed the charges of universal immorality, and the assertion that they were due to lack of public provision for Protestant worship, which we have already cited. In justification of himself and the provincial legislature, Lord Baltimore exhibited the two Toleration Acts a generation apart, giving freedom and protection to every sect of Christians, but special privileges to none.

1675
et seq.

Handle
for estab-
lishment
of
Anglican
Church

This, however, did not meet the approval of his opponents. It was not toleration that the Anglican Church desired, but official establishment. The proprietary explained that four ministers of that church were provided with plantations, which afforded them a decent maintenance; and that the variety of religious sentiments in the Assembly would render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to induce that body to enact a law requiring any sect to contribute to the support of ministers other than their own. He represented that the growth of the colony had been due mainly to its liberal provisions, which had induced representatives of all other sects to seek homes there on terms of equality. It would now be extremely unjust, as well as a breach of good faith, he claimed, to require all these sects to contribute to the support of an established church, of other tenets than theirs. As to morals,

Balti-
more's
objec-
tions

1675-81

they were better conserved under existing conditions than they would be with an establishment; for at present there was a commendable rivalry between the various churches, each endeavoring to set a good example to its neighbors.

Anglican
Church
ordered
estab-
lished

But all this argument fell on dull and unwilling ears. The Committee of Plantations, to whom the matter had been referred, thought there should be a public maintenance assigned to a number of clergy of the Church of England. Their demands were joined to those of the king's ministers, who signified to him the royal pleasure that immorality should be discouraged and the laws against crime more rigidly executed in Maryland. The punctiliously moral Charles was greatly disturbed over the low moral state of the colony!

Which is
not done

This last injunction was the only one which received any attention from the colonial government. The expectations of the English authorities were not met. On being informed of their wishes, the Assembly passed a law for the more strict observance of the Sabbath; but that was the end of their ecclesiastical legislation. Matters were suffered to rest in this condition until after the return of Lord Baltimore in 1681, when new regulations were enacted for the more speedy prosecution of crime and a stricter definition of punishment. But there was no further legislation bearing on religious subjects while Charles Calvert retained his power and influence.

He returned, however, to find his province in a state of incipient insurrection. Josias Fendall,

the old disturber, had taken advantage of the absence of the Governor, as well as the leniency with which his former crimes had been treated, to excite a renewal of lawlessness in the colony. Such solid power as he had was based, like Leisler's in New York, on his assuming the leadership of an alarmed and irritated anti-Catholic faction; but for this, he would have been hanged at once as a mere outlaw and freebooter. But he also gathered about him a small but energetic band of reckless and irresponsible followers, by promising them the escheat of confiscated Catholic estates. By a firm but moderate and judicious enforcement of the law, however, the proprietary soon brought the revolt under control. Fendall was arrested and lodged in prison to await his trial; while his followers, after being admonished not to repeat the offense, were set at liberty. One of these, John Coode by name, retaining an active recollection of the arts of his chief, employed them so successfully at a later period as to overturn the government, as we shall see in due time.

Fendall was amenable to the death penalty, and richly deserved it: but Lord Baltimore availed himself of the opportunity to again impress the people with the fact that it was his desire to rule with moderation; and at once on Fendall's conviction, commuted his sentence to a moderate fine and perpetual banishment from the province. Thus disappeared forever from the stage of known history this persistent and malicious disturber of public harmony.

1681

Fendall's
new in-
surrec-
tionTo
plunder
Catholics

Coode

Fendall
banished

1681
et seq.Balti-
more pro-
motes in-
dustries

These matters having been adjusted, and peace once more restored to the colony, Lord Baltimore set himself to work promoting its material interests. He secured the enactment of laws to encourage agriculture and the export of field products; also to restrain the export of leather and hides—with a view to building up factories that should not only supply the local demand for boots and shoes, but establish a foreign trade in them. He had the modern idea that the place of production of raw materials should naturally be the most profitable place of manufacture. He also influenced the passage of an act to encourage the manufacture of linen and woolen goods. But he was doubly in advance of his time. Colonial conditions were not sufficiently developed in the many subsidiary industries needed to make manufactures a success; and had they been, the British government would have quashed the new colonial industries forthwith as competing with their home manufactures.

Advance
in com-
merce

These efforts, however, led to an immediate improvement in the trade conditions of the colony. The numerous bays, rivers, and inlets (see the map of the Palatinate in Vol. 3) assured to Maryland special advantages in the way of commerce. Numerous small vessels were accordingly built, and, loaded with the varied products of soil, farmyard, forest, and chase, dispatched on their way across the sea. New towns and shipping points sprang up all over the province. In fact, a singular state of affairs grew out of the extraordinary



THE "FALSE CAPE" MAP.

(Facsimile of copy in possession of the Maryland Historical Society.)

maritime advantages of the province. Almost every planter had a harbor and shipping port of his own; and so numerous did these become that in a few years it was almost impossible for the customs officers to perform their duties. The facilities for smuggling were practically unlimited; and the religious principles of no colonists deterred them from taking advantage of the government in proportion to their opportunities. In all the colonies, indeed, smuggling was regarded as a legitimate though dangerously exciting occupation—which is the just Nemesis of a plundering or prohibitory tariff; the only difference was that geography, trade conditions, and nature of people made it more feasible in some than others. So prosperous did the Maryland planters become under the stimulus of these ideal conditions, that at the Assembly's session for 1682 it was unanimously voted that "to demonstrate their gratitude, duty, and affection to the proprietary," they desired his acceptance of a liberal contribution. Again he declined the offer, as on a previous occasion, and for the same reasons.

It was during this auspicious era that William Penn paid his famous visit to Lord Baltimore. It was the wish of these two benevolent proprietaries to arrange amicably their disputed territorial boundaries; but there were insurmountable obstacles in the way. Both were under obligations to their people, of such a character that they could not recede from their original claims without injustice to others. It ended in the division of the

1681-2

Evasion
of
English
tariffs

Penn's
visit to
Lord Bal-
timore

1682-4

disputed territory between them. As the history of these transactions has been given in the account of Pennsylvania, it will not be necessary to repeat it here.

Renewed
Prot-
estant
hostility
to Bal-
timore

Meanwhile, the end of Lord Baltimore's supremacy in Maryland was rapidly approaching. The late proceedings against Fendall gave occasion for a renewal of complaints against him, on a charge of partiality to the papists. In response to this groundless accusation, he vainly represented that the laws of the province gave equal protection and encouragement to Christians of all denominations; that he had always endeavored, as far as practicable, to divide the offices of the government equally between Catholics and Protestants; and that to allay the recent jealousies of the latter, he had by special orders transferred the whole command of the militia and the custody of the arms to them. He likewise showed, by the official records, that not only had the trial of Fendall been absolutely fair, but that he had been accorded the privilege of objecting to all Catholic jurymen, and that he had been tried and condemned by a jury composed entirely of Protestants. But the King's ministers were more anxious to shield themselves from the imputation of entertaining popish sentiments than they were to perform an act of justice; and they accordingly ordered that in future all the offices in the province of Maryland should be filled by Protestants. This sweeping injunction applied to Lord Baltimore as well as to other Catholics, and it put an end to his usefulness in his own

Catholics
excluded
from
office

territory. Accordingly, in 1684 he departed for England, never to return.

1680-4

While these matters were in progress, complaints had been made that the proprietary had neglected and obstructed the collection of the customs in his jurisdiction. This charge was not only groundless, but wholly outside the province of the royal government; since the Maryland charter, by special provision, gave the customs to the proprietary. But some flaw was picked in it, and the collection of customs was placed under the superintendence of the governor of Virginia, who accounted to the royal officers for their proceeds. This collection was a difficult matter in any event, for reasons already stated; and this subordination of the colony to Virginia roused the anger of the colonists and gave a fresh excuse for smuggling. The matter went so far as to bring on an armed controversy with Virginia, which did not end without bloodshed. It was during this period that Charles gave utterance to a declaration which has been much repeated in our own day; namely, that the burden of a customs duty does not fall upon the consumer, but on the dealers. He urged this remarkable argument as a convincing reason why the Marylanders had no ground for complaint; and denounced their ingratitude with a show of vexation entirely foreign to his usual good-nature. The Maryland planters, however, took the argument at its exact worth.

Customs
collec-
tion
given to
Virginia
officers

Mary-
land's
armed re-
sistance

Charles II. died within less than a year after Lord Baltimore's final return to England; and

1694-9

Mary-
land's
charter
to be
vacatedBut
James
deposed
too soonWilliam
III. and
James

throughout this period, as well as the subsequent short and lamentable reign of James II., he pleaded ineffectually for justice at the hands of the government. His remonstrances were disregarded, his chartered rights treated with contempt, and in the end King James ordered a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against his patent. But before this could come up for a hearing, the people themselves had sat in judgment on their king, and found him wanting. The revolution of 1688 had taken place, James was a fugitive at the Catholic court of Louis XIV., and the Protestant princes of the Netherlands were seated on the British throne.

So great a revolution had not been known in the history of the nation since Henry VIII. had aligned it on the Protestant side; but for the colonies, while it promised much it seemed to accomplish little—though of course, had James and Catholicism won, they would have found a thorough change. William of Orange was as earnestly devoted to the prerogative as either of the Stuarts had been; his national and dynastic plans made the colonies the cheapest of pawns, he did not know his new people and blundered execrably in choosing his deputies, and the average of his official appointments in this country was far below that of James'. His policy otherwise was not different, and the colonial boards remained the same; but the sudden change from men like Nicholls, Andros, Dongan, and their like, to creatures like Sloughter and Cornbury, shows that mean personal "pulls" which James never would have

recognized came to the surface, and the English ruling classes dumped their incubi on the colonies.

1688

The Catholicism of Maryland, at a time when Catholicism was moving fast to the position of a vanquished but dreaded enemy in England, caused it to take injudicious steps and put itself in an unfortunate position. The birth of a son to James II. in 1688 was made the occasion of great public rejoicing (and equal private rejoicing among the Catholics) throughout the colony. The Assembly was convoked, and an act passed establishing the young prince's birthday as a day of perpetual thanksgiving. This on the Catholic side was unmistakably sincere and eminently justified: a Catholic succession to the throne would secure them absolutely from further persecution. But it was a premature and mischievous exultation: the event in fact precipitated the revolution of 1688 and the hopeless downfall even of Catholic equality, not to say supremacy. The English Protestant leaders had hoped still to check the elderly James' worst measures by law, and endure him till a Protestant successor came in a few years; but a prospective line of Catholic sovereigns made it necessary to put all to the stake of war. They made the entire Protestant populace believe that the child was spurious, prepared the leaders of James' military forces to desert him as soon as William came over, frightened him into leaving the kingdom for safety, and at once proclaimed him abdicated.

Mistaken
policy
of Mary-
land
Catholics

Birth of
"Old Pre-
tender"
hastens
revolu-
tion

The Maryland authorities, misled by their natural hopes and anxieties, could not see the hand-

1688

Attempt
to hold
Mary-
land for
James

writing on the wall, and took further steps that placed them in direct hostility to the home government. As soon as the report of William's invasion of England reached them, they, as loyal subjects of King James, hastened to take measures for preserving the tranquillity of the province. They collected all the public arms dispersed in the various counties, and arrested several persons suspected of disloyalty to the house of Stuart. These unwise though not blamable acts aroused the suspicions of all the Protestant inhabitants, and were either the cause or a luckless inflammation of the rumor of a "popish plot" now industriously circulated. The Catholic officials, it was asserted, had formed a league with the Indians to massacre all the Protestants in the colony. The horrors of St. Bartholomew were to be re-enacted in the forests of America. Indignation and dismay seized upon the minds of the people. The old ecclesiastical wounds had never been healed; the bitterness of sectarian animosity still poisoned the cup of social intercourse, and every exertion that was made to demonstrate the folly of the alarming reports only served to increase the excitement. The spirit of intolerance was rife among the people, and not a few were ready to enact what every one professed to dread.

Scare of
"Popish
plot"

A series of unlucky circumstances appeared to confirm the general delusion. As soon as the revolution had been accomplished, all the colonial governors were directed to have William and Mary proclaimed as the legitimate sovereigns in their

jurisdictions. Lord Baltimore at once complied, and remitted the necessary instructions to his representatives in Maryland; but they hesitated, doubting the propriety or safety of such a measure,—the Catholics hoping and the Protestants fearing that James would return victorious to his kingdom,—until long after the proclamation had been made in Virginia. The time had also arrived for a renewal of the annual treaties with the Indians; and these ceremonies being neglected in the absorption of home politics, the oversight appeared to confirm the rumored alliance between the Catholics and the savages. The excitement now passed beyond control. The Protestants were considerably in the majority, but they realized that they could not hold their own against such a combination. Moreover, their arms had been taken from them, so that they were at the mercy of any hostile force. Prompt action for the protection of the colonists appeared to be imperative.

These exciting events, however, had been preceded by an act of folly on the part of Lord Baltimore's local representative, William Joseph. Joseph was an incompetent booby, a devotee of the most extreme divine-right theories of the age, and his mental processes recall those of Lord Castle-reagh. Addressing the Assembly in November 1688, he unbosomed himself by this remarkable statement: "The power by which we are assembled here is undoubtedly derived from God to the King, and from the King to his Excellency the lord proprietary, and from his Lordship to us. The power,

1688

Balti-
more's
sound
instruc-
tions dis-
obeyed

Prot-
estant
fear and
anger

William
Joseph's
silliness

1688-9

William
Joseph's
muddle-
ment

therefore, whereof I speak, being, as said, firstly in God and from God; secondly, in the King from the King; thirdly, in his Lordship; fourthly in us —the end and duty of and for which this Assembly is now called and met is that from these four heads; to-wit, from God, the King, our lord and selves." Having relieved his mental vacuum of this tangled skein of mixed thought, Joseph proceeded to confirm the divine right of the proprietary, as third link in the creative chain of the universe, by enacting a special oath of fidelity. The Assembly refused compliance; whereupon Joseph prorogued it, and proceeded to exemplify his doctrine of emanative sequences by announcing in the name of proprietary, King, and Creator (minus link No. 4, the Assembly), that he should visit the full rigor of the law on all who refused to take the oath. The law provided imprisonment, exile, or death, for all infractions of the proprietary's right; but the Baltimores themselves had never attempted to enforce it in full, both from prudence and humanity. This ferocious threat of a weak man only inflamed popular passion.

And truc-
ulenceJohn
Coode

There was no actual outbreak, however, until August 1689. Then, the time being ripe, a leader appeared in the person of John Coode, a former associate of Fendall, who had been pardoned, but allowed to remain in the colony. He was a worthless character, without property and with probably no religious convictions (oddly enough, however, it would seem a clergyman); but he possessed courage, an aptitude for organization, and an ability to

play on the fanaticism of others. He organized a "Protestant Association," for the defense of the faith and to proclaim the sovereignty of William and Mary. Had Baltimore's instructions in this particular been carried out, Coode would have been deprived of his influential support; for the better class of Protestants, while mostly refusing to be led astray by the senseless cry of massacre, were resolved to have the new Protestant sovereigns recognized and their authority maintained, as in the rest of the Empire. But the fanatical bigot Joseph refused to obey the instructions and make the proclamation. He seems to have been a mere honest obstinate blockhead, however, while Coode was much of a scamp.

Practically the whole of the Protestant population now aligned itself on the side of the insurrection; and Coode thus gained an accession of respectability which was of incalculable benefit to his cause. The movement was no longer an insurrection; it had attained the proportions and influence of a revolution. Arms had been collected from various sources, and others were taken from government depositaries by force; until the entire organization was well equipped for its work.

Coode, having made himself master of the provincial government, issued a proclamation, or manifesto, charging the proprietary with tyranny and wickedness, besides many base and ignominious crimes. The eminent and mild-mannered Lord Baltimore was accused of murder, torture, and pillage; and the old custom-house troubles, with the

1689

John
Coode as
Prot-
estant
champion

Joseph
plays
into his
hands

Prot-
estants
support
Coode

Balti-
more de-
nounced

1689-92

extensive system of smuggling which grew out of them, were laid at his door. The latter charges were well calculated to excite the irritation of the Crown officials, and perhaps were artfully conceived by Coode for that exact purpose.

Coode's
party
over-
throw old
govern-
ment

The imbecile Joseph, and the other officials who remained faithful to the proprietary, attempted at first to resist the movement by force; but their Catholic supporters, being in the minority, refused to confirm the rumors that had been circulated against them by taking up arms even in their own defense. The forts, arms, ammunition, public records, and all the powers of the government were accordingly surrendered to Coode and his followers, who for three years thereafter, we are told, administered the laws of Maryland with a tyrannical insolence unsurpassed in our colonial history. William was apprised of these proceedings, but he could not be expected to disavow the one party loyal to him. He confirmed the insurgent government in the exercise of its powers until he had leisure to effect a permanent settlement.

Tempo-
rarily
confirmed
by
William

Balti-
more de-
posed by
Privy
Council

Meanwhile, Lord Baltimore was summoned before the Privy Council to answer the charges that had been preferred against him by Coode. After a tedious investigation, conducted at the expense of the proprietary, it was found impossible to convict him of any other charge than that of entertaining religious convictions different from those of the men by whom he had been so unjustly persecuted. He was accordingly suffered to retain his patrimonial interest in the province, but denied



FREDERICK L^d BALTIMORE.

From an Original Painting

(From engraving in possession of the Maryland Historical Society.)

the right to participate in its government. The political administration was intrusted to Sir Edmund Andros, whose firm loyalty to James did not prevent William from recognizing his ability and official honor. Andros in fact, like Monk and Admiral Penn, was an honest servant and champion of public order, in whose hands soever the supreme power might lie.

1689
et seq.

Andros
governor

Thus fell the proprietary government of Maryland, after a chartered existence of fifty-six years. The Baltimores continued to enjoy their patrimonial rights until the Revolution, when, taking sides prominently with the royal party, their property was confiscated by the American government. Efforts were made subsequently to have these rights restored, on the ground that at the time of the confiscation the heir was a minor; but without avail. The heir was also the bastard of an infamously worthless father; which was irrelevant to the legal aspects, but no doubt personal disgust co-operated with political offense to make the colonists unwilling to respect his property rights, as Pennsylvania did in the case of the Penns.

The later
Balti-
mores

Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore, died on the 24th of February, 1714, and was succeeded by his son, Benedict Leonard Calvert; who, dying the following year, was succeeded by his son Charles. The latter had embraced the Protestant faith, and Queen Anne, a short time before her death, restored to him the proprietary rights of the family. But the restoration was hampered by certain acts of Parliament, among which was one

1689-99

Com-
bined
govern-
ment

requiring the royal sanction to the appointment of provincial governors. Under this system Maryland continued until all the chains of monarchy were finally severed by the Revolution.

Andros
has
William
and Mary
pro-
claimedPort dues
saved to
the Bal-
timoresNichol-
son suc-
ceeds
Andros

Immediately after his appointment as governor, Sir Edmund Andros proceeded from Virginia to Maryland, and assumed his official duties. He convoked a session of the Assembly, which issued the long-delayed proclamation of the sovereignty of William and Mary, and thus disposed of that item of annoyance. This Assembly, being distinctively Protestant, indulged in considerable legislation adverse to the interests of the Catholic proprietary. The port duties—which, as previously stated, were secured to the Baltimores by the charter—were now tendered to the King; but he declined to accept them, from the doubtfulness of his legal right. The Assembly claimed that the true purpose of the tax was for the public benefit, and that it should not be diverted to private use. The whole subject was finally referred to Sir John Somers, attorney-general of the kingdom, who gave it as his opinion that the duty belonged to Lord Baltimore, and was intended for his personal use. The King acquiesced in this decision; and these duties thereafter constituted one of the principal items of value in the proprietary states.

Andros' administration of the two provinces was one of usefulness, good repute, and good-will; but was of short duration in Maryland. He was succeeded there in 1694 by Sir Francis Nicholson, who served until 1699.

Meanwhile John Coode came once more into prominence. Finding himself neglected by the royal officials, he attempted to employ against them the same arts that had been so successful on a former occasion against the proprietary; but in this instance he found himself opposed by a strong public opinion, and his cause went down in ignominious defeat. This industrious agitator, while he seems to have possessed but little talent, had unbounded faith in the influence of corruption. Misrepresentation and calumny were also prominent weapons in his arsenal of offense. One of his favorite maxims was to the effect that "if plenty of mud be thrown, some of it will undoubtedly stick." He accordingly never lost an opportunity to bespatter his opponents; but in the end he discovered the truth of the maxim that he who throws mud must necessarily soil his own fingers. In 1695 he was indicted for treason and blasphemy; and apprehending the certain results of the trial, he fled from the province. This was the end of his known career; his name never afterward appears. One of the counts in the charge of blasphemy accused him of having said "that there was no religion but what was in Tully's Offices"—*i. e.* Cicero *De Officiis*; in other words, in the pagan code of public duty. It is an odd saying for a Protestant cleric, and would indicate that he was no fanatic, but a cunning demagogue actuated only by personal ambition.

A complete revolution now took place in the Maryland government. All semblance of religious

1692-5

Coode at-
tempts
new in-
surrec-
tionForced
to fly

1692
et seq.

Anglican
Church
at last
estab-
lished

toleration was banished. The political equality of the sects was subverted, and the Church of England came to the front as a legal establishment. In 1692 the counties were divided into parishes, and a legal maintenance assigned to a minister in each of these numerous subdivisions. The annual tribute amounted to forty pounds of tobacco (about eighty cents, equivalent to some \$2.50 now) for every Christian white male and each male and female negro above sixteen years of age. From the wording of the law, it might be inferred that its burdens could have been evaded by a renunciation of Christianity; but in that age it would have been a dangerous expedient. It was safer to pay the taxes and remain a Christian. The appointment of ministers was vested in the governor. The management of parochial affairs was confided to vestrymen elected exclusively by the Protestant inhabitants.

Proscrip-
tion of
Catholics

All Catholics were now held enemies to the community they had founded, and a vindictive proscription was exercised against them. They were not only excluded from participation in all political privileges, but were debarred from the exercise of their worship and the advantages of education: the same principle which guided the Irish penal laws,—they were to be kept powerless by being kept ignorant. The celebration of mass, and the education of youth by a papist, were made punishable by transportation to England, where the offending priest or teacher was to be subjected to the penalties provided by the English statutes. It

DECLARATION AGAINST TRANSUB-
STANTIATION.

September 20th: 1862

I Sir Edmund Andros Their Mas:

I have and Govr Genl of Virga.

I doo declare, that I doo believe, that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper or in the Element of Bread and wine, at or after the Consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever.

ANDROS.

Wee the subscribers their Mas I have Govr & Council of Virga doo declare that we doo believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lords Supper or in the Element of Bread & Wine at or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever

FR. NICHOLSON
RALPH WORMWELLY
WILLIAM BYRD
CHR. WORMWELLY
EDW. HILL
HEN. WHITING

E. JENNINGS
CHR. ROBINSON
HEN. HARTWELL
CHAS. SCARBURGH

DECLARATION AGAINST TRANSUB- STANTIATION.

Septembr 20th: 1692

I Sr Edmund Andros Their Mas:

Lievt and Govr Gen^l of Virga.

doo declare, that I doo beleive, that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper or in the Element of Bread and wine, at or after the Consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever.

ANDROS.

Wee the subscribers their Mas: Lievt Govr & Councill of Virga doo declare that we doo beleive that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lords Supper or in the Element of Bread & Wine at or after the Consecration thereof by any pson whatsoever.

E. JENINGS

CHR. ROBINSON

HEN: HARTWELL

CHAS. SCARBURGH

FR. NICHOLSON

RALPH WORMELEY

WILLIAM BYRD

CHR. WORMELEY

EDW: HILL

HEN: WHITINGE

Septemb^r 20th 1692

I st Edmund Andros their Ma^t Lieut^t and
Gov^r Gen^l of Virg^a
do declare, that I do believe, that there is not any
transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper
or in the Element of Bread and wine, at or after the
consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever.

ANDROS.

We the Subscribers their Ma^t Lieut^t Gov^r & Council
of Virg^a do declare that we do believe that there
is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of
the Lords Supper or in the Element of Bread & Wine
at or after the consecration thereof by any
person whatsoever

fr. Nicholson

Spring

Mr. Robinson

Robert Wormeley

William Byrd

Mr. Wormeley

John Lintock

Thos. Hill

John Parke Men: & Childings

was made a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any Catholic priest to attempt to convert a Protestant. And imprisonment in that age was a very different thing from now: especially of political or religious offenders. It meant incarceration, for an indefinite period, in the vilest and most repulsive of places, subjected to wanton and malicious cruelties and indignities at the hands of brutal keepers.

It was claimed that some of the English ecclesiastical statutes did not extend to the colonies; and to enable the law's arm to reach thither with surety, it was decreed that certain English statutes of that character should have the force of law in Maryland. Meanwhile, all Protestants dissenters were declared entitled to the full benefit of the Act of Toleration passed in England at the beginning of the reign of William and Mary. Opposition to the Catholics had united the divergent sects of Protestants against the common enemy. The ingratitude of these measures made them all the more regrettable. The Protestants of Maryland had enjoyed toleration under Catholic rule for more than fifty years; indeed, a majority of them had sought refuge there to escape the persecutions of their own sects elsewhere: but the memory of past benefits did not deter them from turning upon and rending their benefactors.

These unjust measures, however, were but a reflection of the persecutions which had so long raged in the Catholic countries both of Europe and of Spanish and French America. If the

1692
et seq.

Penalties
for
Catholic
prose-
lytizing

Protest-
anism a
united
camp

1692
et seq.

Why
Catholics
were pro-
scribed

Maryland Catholics were not the authors of their own sorrows, their establishment outside the province was. Every item of persecution inflicted in Maryland had been matched and exceeded a hundred-fold all through the Catholic world. The French Dragonnades but a few years before, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes which followed, and used the same means, had desolated Protestant France with butchery and nameless outrage; some of the escaped victims were part of these very Maryland Protestants, who felt driven to these repressive measures in order to prevent the recurrence of the European horrors in that province. We know now that their fears were groundless; but they can hardly be blamed for harboring them then.

Prosely-
tizing of
Indians

Before the overthrow of Catholic supremacy in Maryland, the priests had made several attempts to introduce their religion among the Indians, but with no large measure of success. They did not understand the art of evangelization so well as the French priests of the northern provinces; or perhaps they tried harder to introduce morals as well as forms and ceremonies. The Maryland Indians gladly participated in the latter, out of complaisance or curiosity or because they thought the rites to have magical efficacy; but it is extremely doubtful if they had any clear understanding of or respect for the principles of the Christian religion. Indeed, here as in other sections, they often submitted to the rite of baptism under the impression that they were conferring



STATE HOUSE AT ANNAPOLIS.

a favor upon the missionaries, in return for the presents they had received; and subsequently threatened to renounce their faith unless the presents were duplicated.

1690-
1700

Indian
view of
being
Chris-
tianized

In 1699 the capital of the province was finally removed from St. Mary's to Annapolis, renamed from the old Providence. The latter had long been regarded as the Protestant capital, but not till now was it officially recognized by all parties as the seat of provincial government. St. Mary's had already begun to decline, and the removal of the capital so accelerated its downfall that within a comparatively short time the place had ceased to exist as a town. Before the beginning of the nineteenth century the very foundations had disappeared. A pit overgrown with bushes is all that can be said to mark the spot. But indeed it never was a town in any proper sense. Thirty mean houses scattered over a space five miles along the river and a mile inland, and Lord Baltimore's manor-house and offices, constituted the whole municipality.

Capital
changed
to Annap-
olis

Old St.
Mary's

The population of the province at the beginning of the eighteenth century amounted to about 30,000; and it is claimed that the export of tobacco had reached as large proportions as in the older and more populous province of Virginia. At a subsequent period its cultivation was limited to 6000 plants for every taxable individual on each plantation; but this effort to regulate the price by limiting the production proved abortive, and in the end it was left to the

Mary-
land pros-
perity

Wolf
bounties

natural law of supply and demand. Tobacco continued to be the medium of exchange in the colony until well along in the eighteenth century. As late as 1715 the Assembly reaffirmed a former act, offering three hundred pounds of tobacco—about six dollars in our currency, but equal to double that now—for every wolf's head delivered by Indian or colonist to a justice of the peace within the colony. This indicates at once that wolves were formidable, and that they were not very numerous. In 1732 tobacco was made a legal tender at one penny (two cents) a pound.

Isolated
Southern
colonial
farms

During the colonial era nearly every planter was his own shopkeeper: his family, servants, and slaves being supplied from a storehouse on his plantation. This custom prevented the growth of large towns, but it turned numerous detached farms into estates of the English pattern, elegant homes where hospitality was dispensed with a liberal hand. Except for the constant round of visiting, the inhabitants lived in comparative solitude, a condition which certainly made them more eager to welcome guests; the number of slave domestics also made hospitality easier. Their isolation is said likewise to have made them careless of manners and fashion; but probably the women followed the latter as closely as they could learn it. That all ranks clothed themselves mainly in homespun and home-made garments was from necessity rather than choice. They were a silent and thoughtful people, but the leading planters were well read in the English and often the ancient

Hospital-
ity and
easy
manners



The Maryland Gazette

Samuel Thomas



From TUESDAY December 3, to TUESDAY December 10, 1728. (Number)

*Look round the habitable World how few
Know their own Good ! or knowing it pursue !
How void of Reason are our Hopes and Fears !
What in the Conduct of our Life appears
So well design'd, so luckily begun,
But when we have our Wish, we wish undone ?*

Dryden's Ju.

SIR,



IN my second Paper, I intimated my Design of improving the FAIR-SEX, by giving some finishing Touches to Them who are already the most beautiful Pieces in human Nature : I propos'd to divert their Minds from useless Trifles, and instead thereof to furnish their Breasts with valuable Knowledge ; to point out those Imperfections which are the Blemishes, as well as those Virtues which are the Embellishments of the Sex, so as in the End, to bring them upon the Level with the Men in their boasted Superiority of Reason.

How unmerciful is that Custom which for many Ages has excluded the most amiable Creatures on Earth from the Divine Pleasures of Learning, and confined them chiefly to the Baisness of the Needle ! How rarely are they taught or encouraged to think out of the Common Way, and beyond the Regard of the Nursery. They who under proper Directions might have acquired the most refined Knowledge, are so compr'd by a silly Education ; that generally speaking, they know little more than their Work, a small Share of House-Industry ; and a great deal of Gossiping.

It would ill become the PLAIN-DEALER to commend his Fair Pupils at the Expence of Truth, I therefore think it incumbent on Me to treat them with Sincerity ; and hope to be excus'd for mentioning the Defects in their Education, when I have assur'd them that in my Opinion, their Imperfections proceed rather from their mistaken Tutors, than from any Perverseness in their own Disposition.

To rectify these Defects, I would earnestly advise them to be drawn with Attention from Books they may receive Improvements, as will make them lovely, when the Charms of their Faces lie buried in Wrinkles.

Good Writers have it in their Power to furnish the tender Sex with Charms more lasting than those which they derive from Beauty, and which can supply the Loss of Youth and Guety with more valuable Qualities ; but few Authors have taken sufficient Pains to point out proper Employments and Diversions for the Fair Readers. In Pieces which they generally meet with, are too serious too loose, for their Particular ; that therefore in the Course of these Papers, endeavor to entertain them in a more agreeable Manner ; and to induce them to Reading, I shall at my

Leisure present them with a Set of Histories, collected from the Records of a powerful, invisible People, with whom I hold some Correspondence. My gentle Reader will undoubtedly be curious to know the Traditions of the FAIRIES, of whom they have heard so many Tales from their Nurses ; but I must take Notice in this Place, that I shall never oblige them a Fairy-Tale, which will not be as instructive as well as amusing them. As the first Specimen of this kind, I recommend the following Relation to my Pupils.

THERE was a Country-Woman, who upon her many with a Fairy, desired her to come and assist Labour : The Good Woman was delivered of a Day When the Fairy, taking the Infant in her Arms, the Mother, make your Choice : The Child (if you a Mind) shall be exquisitely Handsome, excell in more than in Beauty, and be the Queen of a mighty Empire, but withall, Unhappy ; Or (if you had rather shall be an ordinary Ugly Country Creature like you, but contented with her Condition. The Mother chose Wit and Beauty for her Daughter, at this Hazard Misfortune.

As the Child grew, new Beauties open'd daily Face ; till in a few Years, She surpass'd all the Run that the oldest People had ever seen. Her turn of mind, gentle, polite and insinuating : She was of a ready humour ; and soon learnt every Thing to as Teachers. Every Holiday, She danced upon with a superior Grace to any of her Country-Voices was sweeter than any Shepherd's Pipe, the Songs, which she us'd to sing.

For some Time she was not apprized when diverting her self with her Play, the Flowery Border of a Fountain, the Reflection of her Face : She observ'd her Features and her Complexion in the Company ; and admir'd her self from Day to Day to obtain a more sensible of her Beauty, the Predilections of the Fair Queen, and spoil'd her Damsel would neither see Sheep : Her whole Address was to her Fair with her

classics, and were capable of expressing themselves in the best language of the age. Their homes abounded with books, pictures, and works of art.

Mary-
land
reading

In 1727 or 1728 the *Maryland Gazette*, the first newspaper printed in the colony, was established at Annapolis. Its founder was William Parks, public printer for Maryland and Virginia, and already referred to under the latter colony. Parks left Maryland in 1733. In 1745 his paper was revived and made permanent by Thomas Green, a descendant of the famous Samuel Green of Massachusetts, who had nineteen children, nearly all of whom became printers. The *Gazette* continued to be issued by Thomas Green's descendants until 1839. It was one of the leading papers during the Revolution, and is often quoted in connection with the events of that great epoch in our national history.

First
news-
paper

While the conditions in Maryland did not encourage the building of towns, a few gradually came into existence; but this growth was excessively slow, as in all slaveholding communities with large plantations. As early as 1662 a farm was taken up on the present site of Baltimore, a Quaker named Charles Gorsuch patenting fifty acres of land on Whetstone Point, opposite the eastern section of the present city; but even if occupied it remained only a farm. Twenty years later, one David Jones settled on the north side of the harbor, on the banks of a little stream which has since borne his name, and at a later period divided the city into "old town" and "new town."

Site of
Balti-
more
occupied

In 1732 some one unknown laid out ten acres, in twenty town lots, on Jones' old farm, and called the place Jonestown, for over a century and a half now only a designation of that part of Baltimore known as "old town."

Founda-
tion of
Balti-
more

Its slow
growth

On the 12th of January, 1730, sixty acres of ground west of Jones' Falls were laid out in town lots and called Baltimore; this may be justly regarded as the birthday of the city. The same year a ship-carpenter named William Fell purchased a tract of land east of the falls, still known as Fell's Point; some effort was made to build a town there, but the place was soon afterward absorbed by Baltimore. The original site of the latter was up about the "basin," near the foot of South Charles Street; but in 1745 it was extended easterly to Jones' Falls and took in Jonestown. The act authorizing this expansion expressly stated that it should not be so construed as to permit the election of representatives from the town to the Assembly: the planter aristocracy had no mind to compete with town shopkeepers. They controlled the government through the county representation and the vestries, and proposed to retain it.

The growth of Baltimore at the beginning was not rapid: indeed, after all explanations, its giant strides as the great border exchange city—being neither at the head nor the foot of the Bay—remains a puzzle. In 1752, after having absorbed Fell's Point and Jonestown, the place is said to have contained but twenty-five houses and two hundred inhabitants. Four years later it received a

new and excellent accession from an unexpected quarter. Several families of the exiled Acadians sought refuge there, and were kindly treated. They became permanent citizens, and brought with them at least industry and good morals. Previous to 1767 the county town was located at a place called Joppa,¹ but during that year the courts and records were removed to Baltimore. The following year arrangements were made to build a court-house and a jail; and, as an emblem of the civilization of the period, a whipping-post was planted in the jail-yard. This instrument for making ten brutes among the lookers-on to every one tied up and mellowed by the punishment was not removed until 1808. The old court-house stood on the present site of Battle Monument.

Acadians
at Balti-
more

Becomes
county
seat

In 1773, two years before the outbreak of the Revolution, William Goddard began the publication of the first newspaper in Baltimore, under the title of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*. The paper does not seem to have gained much distinction, since it is not quoted nor referred to during the Revolutionary period. The same year was also memorable for the opening of communication between Baltimore and Philadelphia by means of stage-coaches and sailing vessels; and the growing literary taste of the people was recognized by the erection of a theatre in Albe-marle Street.

First
news-
paper

¹A town called Joppa is still in existence, just over the line in Harford County, with a population, according to the census of 1900, of seventy-two persons.

Develop-
ment of
Balti-
more

At the beginning of the Revolution, Baltimore is said to have contained 564 houses and a population of 5934, an average of more than ten persons to a house: evidently tenement buildings were increasing. In 1776, owing to a menace against Philadelphia by the British, the Continental Congress removed from that city to Baltimore, and occupied a building on the corner of Baltimore and Liberty Streets. The house was known as Jacob Fite's building, and the room in which Congress sat was thus described by John Adams in his private journal: "The Congress sits in the last house at the west end of Market Street [as Baltimore Street was then called], on the south side of the street; a long chamber with two fire-places, two large closets, and two doors. The house belongs to a Quaker, who built it for a tavern." The first custom-house was established in Baltimore in 1780, all clearances previous to that time having been made from Annapolis; and the city was not incorporated until 1796, when it had a population of 20,000.

The history of the province, after the beginning of the eighteenth century, flowed on in an uninterrupted course of peace and prosperity, until the beginning of the great struggle for independence, which brought all the colonies together in a common union. We therefore now take leave of Maryland as a separate commonwealth, to resume its history as one of the thirteen colonies and a State of the Federal Union.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CAROLINAS TO THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Many of the most peculiarly romantic events in our colonial history were connected with the founding of the Carolinas, which were originally administered as a single jurisdiction. Owing to the fact that this section of our country produced few early historians, its affairs have in some measure been overlooked or disregarded; while other localities, more fortunate in that respect, but possessing no greater merit or historical interest, have received a much larger degree of attention in proportion to their importance.

Neglect
of Caro-
lina
history

It has been said that New England was colonized by Puritan exiles fleeing from royal and episcopal tyranny; that Virginia was re-peopled by Cavalier and Episcopal fugitives from Puritan intolerance; that Maryland was founded by Catholics retiring before Protestant persecution; while the Carolinas received their first impetus from fugitive Huguenots escaping from Catholic bigotry. All these assertions are in a measure true: the New World was an asylum for the victims of every dominating creed in turn.

America
as a
refuge for
the op-
pressed

The first efforts at Huguenot colonization on the southern coast, and their bloody failure, have been related in the earlier portions of this work.

Ribault's
colony

Physio-
graphy of
Carolina

For nearly one hundred years afterward, the rich lands of the Carolinas (named from Charles IX. of France) attracted but little attention from the home-seekers of Europe. They were not altogether forgotten—various adventurers gravitated thither and founded struggling settlements, but these were feeble and unimportant. Yet there were descriptions of climate and of rich undeveloped resources, that charmed the imaginations of the restless spirits ever dreaming of building homes in the wilderness. Along the sea-coast were numerous low-lying islands, fertile as the valley of the Nile, with necks and points and peninsulas that gave promise of rich commerce from the bays and sea. Back of the “sea islands” lay a wide belt of generally swampy land, dismal in appearance and unhealthy for residence. Still back of this forbidding strip was a middle country of sterile pine barrens, since famous for its production of naval stores; abounding in sand-hills and upland moors, with fairly good intervening valleys and plains. Rising thence and stretching away almost to the crest of the distant Blue Ridge, was a pleasant land of hill and dale, rich in agricultural possibilities. All these regions were abundantly watered with streams that came plunging down from the mountains, broke through gorges on to the plains and flats, and rolled through them to the sea.

These conditions, however, long remained but imperfectly known. Even in 1600, the country was largely unexplored. After Raleigh's fleeting

colony of Roanoke (already told of), came several English families from Virginia, as well as from New England, flying from Indian massacres. They suffered extreme hardships from scarcity of food, particularly the New-Englanders; and it is alleged, would have perished from hunger had not their old friends sent them a timely stock of provisions. Yet in the midst of their privations they did not forget the spiritual welfare of the surrounding pagans. They performed the noble part of Christian missionaries, with such excellent results that many of the Indians were converted, among others a very influential werowance; and largely to this fact is referred the subsequent friendship of most of the Carolina Indians.

Scat-
tered
refugee
settlers

Next came John Pory, secretary of Virginia, who in 1622 traveled across the country from Jamestown in Virginia to the main body of the Chowan River, which empties into the north-western tongue of Albemarle Sound. Such a journey could be equaled now by nothing less than a trip to Central Africa. The enterprising Pory seems to have traveled the forests alone, depending on wild game and native hospitality. On his return he wrote a glowing description of the unbounded hospitality and kindness of the red people, the delightful climate, and the amazing fertility of the soil, which produced two abundant crops each season. It was an Oriental vision. Pory experienced no difficulty in forming a colony of Virginians, whom he led over the same route to the southern Chowan, where they settled. There is

Pory's
explora-
tions

His
colony

1622-53

no record, nor any name of town, county, river, or creek to indicate the precise location of this little colony.

First
patent
for
Carolina

Eight years afterward, in 1630, a patent for the Carolinas between 31° and 36° was granted to Sir Robert Heath, who subsequently assigned it to Lord Maltravers. The grant was suffered to lapse, and was canceled by the charter of Charles II. Yet much attention was now being attracted thither. In 1642 a company of Virginia adventurers obtained from its legislature a privilege of occupying "some territory southwest of the Appomattox." This indefinite grant was for fourteen years, and was to be settled by a hundred Virginians, "freemen, being single, and disengaged of debt." What became of this colony history does not inform us; but they progressed to the extent of electing one William Hawley governor, before retiring finally into the shades of the unknowable.

Colo-
nized
from
Virginia

Again by
Roger
Green

The next effort was led by Roger Green of Nansemond, Virginia, in 1653. Green received a grant of one thousand acres, with the promise of ten thousand more if he would form a settlement of a hundred persons on the Roanoke, or in the region south of the Chowan and its branches. This section is now embraced in the counties of Hertford and Bertie, and is a fertile and well-watered district, mild of climate and rich of soil, a delightful habitation. Green's colony went forth in the direction formerly traversed by Pory, but what became of them is unknown. Many of the pioneers of Carolina found a permanent lodgment, and

formed settlements around which others gathered; many, very many, found only the six feet to which all men are entitled. The hot sun and the steaming of the soggy lands near the sea-shore produced fevers and death.

1653-62

Bad early
condition

Combined with the offer of land to Green was another from the Virginia Assembly, guaranteeing one thousand acres to any person who would begin a plantation in the Carolina territory. This extraordinary liberality attracted the attention of Thomas Dew, Speaker of the Assembly. He planned to explore the rivers farther south, between Cape Fear and Cape Hatteras. Just what he accomplished is not recorded; but he certainly established one or more colonies in that section, which abided until others came.

Dew's
colonies

They who thus went into the Carolina wilderness regarded themselves as independent communities, owing allegiance to none but themselves and their God. Such government as they felt the need of, they framed and administered, by and for themselves. They made their treaties with the Indians, and purchased lands for their own use from the aboriginal owners. And so it happened that before the Restoration of 1660, a number of independent sovereignties—as they felt themselves—had been formed in this far southern section.

Pioneers
before
the Res-
toration

In 1662 George Durant, a Virginia Quaker, bought from the chief of a Carolina tribe a neck of land on the north shore of Albemarle Sound, which still bears his name—between Little River

Durant's
purchase

and Perquimans River, in Perquimans County.
 1622-3 Here he established a settlement which still exists
 Durant's —the town of Durant's Neck, with a population
 Neck, N.C. of eighty-two in 1900: not a very extraordinary
 growth for the hoary age of 238 years! But it is
 one of the oldest known settlements in the Caro-
 linas, which gives it a peculiar interest.

The next year George Cathmaid (twisted in
 some records into "Catchmaid") conducted a
 colony of seventy-six persons from Virginia to
 the north bank of Albemarle Sound, east of the
 Cath- Chowan. He was rewarded by the grant of a
 maid's large tract north of the sound; but there is no
 colony town or other landmark to indicate its location.
 Contemporary with Cathmaid came a company of
 New-Eng-landers to the far south, and seated them-
 selves on the banks of Town Creek, which empties
 into Cape Fear River no great distance above its
 mouth. This location is still marked by a place
 called Town Creek, with a population of thirty-
 two, whose hereditary New England traits, if any,
 would make a curious investigation. The settle-
 ment was never a vigorous one, and falling early
 into distress, it had to appeal to the mother colony
 for relief. Before the advent of the main body,
 an advance party had been sent to explore the
 bays, inlets, and river-mouths along the Carolina
 coast, with a view to finding a suitable location
 for the raising of cattle. They hit upon the locality
 of Town Creek as best suited to that purpose, and
 there they purchased land from the Indians, and
 returned to bring on their wives and children.

The colonists might have sustained themselves for a few years of beginnings by Indian trade and the chase; but they were not expert hunters, and there are indications that they got themselves into trouble with the red men by a too-officious effort to convert them to New England customs. Meanwhile agents had been sent to London, where they succeeded in arousing an interest in Carolina matters among a certain class of adventurers; but these were not the kind of people to bring prosperity to a new colony. The settlement languished, and finally a majority of the company left the country, and went no one knows whither. There is indeed very little reliable information regarding the doings and final outcome of this New England colony. Some remained, and were found there, together with their "neat cattle and swine," by a larger and more vigorous company which came soon afterward from the island of Barbadoes.

This was in 1663. A company of Barbadoes planters, to better their conditions and establish an independent colony, sent a ship to explore the Carolina coast. This vessel landed at the mouth of Cape Fear River; very likely on Smith's Island, or some one of the smaller islands lying within its protecting breakwaters. Here the company discovered signs of the departed New-Englanders, and on closer investigation they found "a writing left in a post at the point of Cape Fear River by those New England men that left cattle with the Indians there, the contents whereof tended not only to the disparagement of the land about the said

1663

Cape Fear
River
colony
fails

Barba-
does men
explore
for set-
tlement

New-Eng-
landers
leave
lampoon
behind

1663-4

Carolina
company
refuts
libel

river, but also to the great discouragement of all such as should hereafter come into those parts to settle." These evil reports had spread even as far as London, where the Carolina Company had established its headquarters; and at its meeting in August 1663, the directors declared "that at the present the undertaking of the plantation of the said Charles¹ River lieth under some obloquy, that hath given a check to it; some that were sent from New England thither, in order to carry on the said settlement, being come back again without so much as sitting down upon it; and for the better justification of themselves in their return, have spread a reproach both upon the harbor and upon the soil of the river itself."

Barba-
does men
make
purchase

The Barbadoes men, however, were not discouraged. The evidences within their own vision, of rich land and timber close by the water-side, were too convincing. They sailed up the river, and were met and entertained by such of the New-Englanders as still remained. Before their departure they purchased a large tract of land from the Indians, lying thirty-two miles square on the Cape Fear River, and apparently embracing the previous purchase of the New England people. They sought a confirmation from the London company with a separate charter of independent government. Their prayer was answered only in part; but terms sufficiently liberal to meet their approval were offered, and they proceeded to arrange

¹ The Cape Fear River was sometimes so called, as a compliment to Charles II.

the preliminaries of their settlement. Prominent among them was one Sir John Yeamans, the son of a Cavalier emigrant to Barbadoes; he was appointed governor of the colony, to which the name "Clarendon" was given. It never embraced anything beyond the thirty-two mile tract above.

1663-5

Clarendon colony

Sir John was delayed in organizing his colony, and did not appear on the scene until the autumn of 1665. He brought at first only a small band of emigrants, who established a town on the west bank of the river, near its mouth. The name of the place is now unknown, and even its site is in dispute. It flourished wonderfully at the beginning; for within a year after its founding it boasted a population of more than eight hundred, and had already established a large trade with Barbadoes in lumber, shingles, and staves. The New England settlers were highly esteemed, and their favor and good-will were earnestly sought. In some of his instructions to the Barbadoes colonists, Governor Yeamans expressed a desire that "things should be made easy" for the people of New England, "because from thence the greatest supplies are expected."

Promising start

The Carolinas had already gathered unto themselves great fame. Numerous highly colored and even sensational descriptions of the region were printed and circulated, for the purpose of turning emigration in that direction. The flourishing settlements around Albemarle Sound and near Cape Fear River excited much desire. Here was an opportunity to establish governments and

Carolinas coming into notice

1663

The Carolina palatinate

form immensely valuable provinces. Accordingly, in 1663, a number of courtiers formed themselves into an association and applied to Charles II. for a grant to an almost boundless region in North America. It was to extend from 36° on the north and the St. John's River on the south, to the South Sea, embracing the present States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, and as much territory westward as the incorporators could occupy. The leading patentees were Lord Chancellor Clarendon; General Monk, Duke of Albemarle; the Earl of Craven; Lord Berkeley; Sir William Berkeley his younger brother, governor of Virginia; Sir George Carteret; Sir John Colleton; and Lord Ashley, subsequently Earl of Shaftesbury. The latter was the leading spirit and manager. This vast territory was bestowed upon the incorporators and their heirs and assigns as absolute lords proprietaries forever, with palatine rights and jurisdictions, which differed little from an absolute monarchy except in allegiance to the Crown.

"Proposals" for colonists

A meeting of incorporators was at once held in London, to plan how to secure a population for the incipient empire. There were already inhabitants enough within its bounds for a nucleus, and these were encouraged in every reasonable manner not only to remain, but to urge their friends to come also. A circular was issued under the title of "Proposals to all that will plant in Carolina"; and as a special inducement to the colonies from New England and Barbadoes, already established in the vicinity of Cape Fear



GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.



EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON.

River, it was proclaimed that all persons who would settle to the southward of that river, take the oath of allegiance to the King, and recognize the proprietary government, should be entitled to continue their occupation and to fortify their settlements.

1663

For their further encouragement, these colonists when established were requested to present to the proprietaries a list of thirteen persons, from whom a governor and a council of six should be chosen for a term of three years; and they were assured that an Assembly, composed of the governor, council, and delegates of the freemen, should be called as soon as the circumstances of the settlement would permit, with the usual legislative powers. Every person should enjoy the most perfect freedom of religion; and during the succeeding five years each freeman should be allowed to choose a hundred acres of land for himself and fifty for a servant, paying only one penny per acre. This would have been a greater lure but that the colonies were already independent, had bought their lands from the Indians, and worshiped any God or none as they saw fit. At the same meeting the name of Albemarle was bestowed upon the sound, in honor of George Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, the restorer of the Stuarts.

Lures to
Carolina
colonists

The empire-builders, without waiting for the colonists' acceptance, empowered Governor Berkeley of Virginia to appoint a governor and a council of six, for immediate government of the Carolinas, to grant lands to all colonists, and to

Prelim-
inary
govern-
ment

1663-6

Albe-
marle
elected

allow them three years for the payment of quit-rents. He was likewise requested to visit the colony, and employ skillful persons to explore and survey its rivers and bays; a duty which he performed the following year. The settlements in the Albemarle district were erected into a separate jurisdiction, and attached to Virginia, with William Drummond, a Scotchman, as deputy-governor. His authority was understood to extend from 36° to the St. John's, but it was mainly exercised in the district north of that line to the southern boundary of Virginia. The colonists in the vicinity of Cape Fear River continued for some time to live in a state of independence.

First As-
semblyNew land
tenures
granted

Matters in Carolina flowed along smoothly enough until the quit-rents began to fall due, when the colonists manifested no little dissatisfaction with the character of their tenures. Accordingly, in 1666 they formed a General Assembly in the Albemarle district, doubtless the first ever convoked in North Carolina. This body sent a petition to the proprietaries for their people, asking to hold their lands on the same terms as the Virginians; and the proprietaries, eager to encourage emigration to the colony, not only granted the prayer, but instructed the governor in future to issue land warrants on whatever terms the colonists themselves might propose.

South-
ward set-
tlement

Other settlements were projected and established toward the southward; and as each came into existence it was erected into a separate municipality, regulated by laws enacted by the local

freemen and governed by a distinct set of officials. A number of diminutive independent states or provinces were thus formed within the original grant, each with the same powers and constitution as Albemarle. Instructions were also sent to Sir John Yeamans, governor of the district formed by the Barbadoes planters, not to interfere with the appointment of a governor of a new settlement about to be formed at Cape Romain, subsequently named Carteret. It was feared that the Barbadoes colony might claim jurisdiction over that region; but they showed no disposition to extend their domain. Carteret soon became the most important nucleus for a large settlement between Albemarle and the Cape Fear district.

1663-4

Settle-
ments
south of
Albe-
marle

Having thus launched their incipient empire, and discovered some outlying territory which they desired to annex, the incorporators applied for and received a new charter covering the enlarged limits, and gaining ampler rights and prerogatives—which however did not exceed the immense powers generally given to colonial proprietaries. They were allowed free trade with Great Britain subject to statute prohibitions and the usual customs dues, but with their colonists were specially exempted from import duties for seven years; and could establish ports of entry and appropriate such duties as the General Assembly might establish. They might make laws for the province not in conflict with the English, with the consent of the freemen or their representatives. They were allowed to confer titles of

New
Carolina
charter

1664-7

Popular
liberality
of new
charter

nobility, not duplicating the English. Carolina was made independent of all other colonies, and the inhabitants could be brought before a court nowhere except there and in Great Britain. As in Virginia, they and their children were declared denizens of England, with the same rights as those residing within the realm. The proprietaries were empowered to grant indulgences to all nonconformists; "to the end that all persons might have liberty to enjoy their own judgments and consciences in religious concerns, provided they disturb not the civil order and peace of the province."

More
liberal
one in Al-
bemarle

A still more liberal constitution was granted in 1667 to Albemarle, when Governor Drummond had been superseded by Samuel Stevens, a man of ability and great integrity. The governor was commanded to act altogether by the advice of his Council, consisting of twelve freemen of the province, one-half appointed by him, the others chosen by the Assembly; the latter to be composed of the governor, the Council, and delegates elected annually by the freeholders. A strong democratic principle prevailed in this form of government, which may not at first be apparent to the reader. The Assembly was not only invested with the power of making laws, but it retained a considerable share in their execution. It had the appointment of officers, the presentation of church privileges, and the right of convocation or adjournment at will. It was in fact the governing body of the province, for it could

at any time compel the governor and his Council to comply with its wishes. No taxes could be imposed without its consent, and land titles were confirmed under the tenure of free socage. All men were entitled to equal privileges, on taking the oath of allegiance to the King and of fidelity to the proprietaries. Perfect freedom of religion, absolutely without limit, was guaranteed to colonists who had not yet manifested a preference for religion of any kind.

1667-9

First constitution of Albemarle

The first Assembly under this constitution met in 1669, and proceeded to legislate for the interests of its constituents without particular reference to the proprietaries. The first efforts at legislation of this rather remarkable body were rude, simple, and direct, and bore the true frontier stamp. The colonists believed that English legislation, as a rule, was unfriendly to their interests; and especially they disapproved being held to account for by-gones. The Assembly declared that the paramount interests of the colony had been neglected; that sufficient encouragement had not been held out to induce people to come and settle among them; and it was therefore enacted that no man should be sued for debt for five years after his arrival in the colony, for any cause originating outside the province. The result was immediate, and long disastrous. Bankrupt tradesmen and impetunious scalawags flocked thither by hundreds, and in many instances became a charge upon the community. It was an easy way to evade creditors, as well as to escape imprisonment—for debt

First legislation

Swayed by debtor class

1669
et seq.

was then a crime throughout Europe. The colony was long regarded as a refuge for criminals, and an asylum for dishonest debtors; and the population thus gained was not conducive to a healthy growth.

First
North
Carolina
legis-
lation

A more defensible measure legalized marriage by public consent; a decent necessity where ministers there were none. Another act exempted new settlers from taxation during their first year, and restrained them from transferring their land for two years: the first provision was plainly intended to invite settlers, and the other to retain them after they had come.

Locke
and
Shaftes-
bury's
Carolina
consti-
tution

All the laws enacted by this Assembly went into immediate effect, and were ratified by the proprietaries the following year. But these distinguished gentlemen were preparing to launch a brilliant scheme for a transatlantic empire, on a philosophical basis. There is little doubt that this governmental framework represents broadly the political ideas of the Earl of Shaftesbury, while the detail was worked out by his friend John Locke. Between the two a most amazing instrument of statecraft was evolved, which, as a model for the impractical in government, must endure forever. Locke's father had been a Parliamentary captain, and the son himself was thoroughly imbued with liberal ideas. But he did not believe that the populace as yet were capable of self-government; unfortunately he seems also to have thought that they never would be thus capable, and need not be considered as part of the machinery.



JOHN LOCKE.



ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

Shaftesbury simply believed that they were a rabble whose one useful service was to work for their betters. 1869

On the more liberal side, Locke held that the state had of right nothing to do with the spiritual world, and should therefore tolerate all modes of worship not immoral in their nature or inimical to good government. This explains in part the remarkable latitude in religious freedom which he introduced into the Carolina constitution. But this absolute toleration did not suit the views of some of the incorporators; and in spite of Locke's protests, they added an article providing that when the country was sufficiently peopled and planted, the colonial parliament should see to the building of churches and provide a public maintenance for divines of the Church of England; "which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is so also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of parliament." But as the constitution never worked, the article did no harm.

Locke's principle of toleration

Not shared by proprietors

The most astonishing feature, to be the production of seventeenth-century Englishmen, was its fixing the entire population in iron-bound hereditary castes, unchangeable forever. There were four such castes in the community: nobles, clergy, freeholders, and serfs. Professional men were supposed to be freeholders; but lawyers there were to be none, the occupation of a paid advocate or attorney being denounced as base and

Fixed castes

1669

Carolina
constitu-
tion—
serfdom

sordid. No one was allowed to plead another's cause except under oath that he had not received and would not accept any remuneration therefor. The bulk of the population were to be serfs of the soil—"leet-men." But where were these to come from? Colonists were not to be deported by force; and that the framers could suppose free Englishmen would deliberately emigrate into hopeless serfage for themselves and their descendants, is so extraordinary that it speaks worse for the dulling effect of aristocratic associations on the mind and heart than any radical ever charged. We might explain Locke's part as that of a mere closet theorist; but how of Shaftesbury, the very most intense and experienced type of "practical politician"?

Palatine
govern-
ment

The eldest of the eight proprietaries was to be palatine during his life, and his successors were always to be the eldest of the survivors. There were seven other chief officers of state: admiral, chamberlain, constable, chief justice, high steward, and treasurer. These positions were given to the other seven proprietaries, with the same order of succession; any or all might be administered by deputies. The chamberlain was provided with a court, which had the care of "all ceremonies, precedence, heraldry, and pedigrees"; also "power to regulate all fashions, habits, badges, games, and sports." The lieutenants and assistants of the admiral bore the title of proconsuls. The constable, who was commander-in-chief, took his title from an official of the mediæval Empire; none of

his assistants bore a less exalted rank than that of lieutenant-general.

1669

Carolina
constitu-
tion—
govern-
ment

Corresponding to these positions, and in addition to the subordinate courts of the counties below described, were eight supreme courts, to each of which was annexed a college of twelve assistants. The palatine presided in the palatine court, of which he and three of the other high officials constituted a quorum. This court represented the king; it ratified or rejected the acts of the Assembly, and had the administration of all the charter powers. The proprietaries should create two classes of hereditary nobles, landgraves and caciques—titles of the Empire and of the Spanish-American Indians. These titles and the dignities attaching to them were to be forever inalienable and indivisible, descending by male primogeniture, as did all rights. In default of direct male heirs, succession passed to the eldest male of the female line; on failure of all male heirs, direct or collateral, the proprietaries could elect a successor from the next order of nobility. This fantastic aristocracy was in fact created, and “landgraves” and “caciques” played some part in Carolina politics for years.

The
nobility

The highest dignity any commoner could attain was the lordship of a manor, consisting of not less than 2000 nor more than 12,000 acres; even this being made a manor only “by the grant of the palatine’s court.” Nobles could be tried only by the court of the chief justice.

The
free
com-
mons

1669

Carolina
consti-
tution—
territo-
rial divi-
sions

The whole territory of the province was divided into five equal portions: one assigned to the proprietaries, another to the nobility, and the remainder to the freeholders, each of whom must pay an annual quit-rent of a penny an acre to the proprietaries. The latter had for estates the "seigniories" of 12,000 acres each; and eight of these with eight "baronies" and twenty-four "colonies" (the latter owned by the people), each of the same size, formed a "county" of 480,000 acres. These divisions and sizes must be exactly preserved, so that "the balance of the government may be maintained." Every county was provided with a landgrave and two caciques, each a member of the Parliament "by right of his dignity." The colonists had no colonial representation, as such, in the Parliament; but every six colonies formed a precinct, and each precinct was entitled to one representative elected by the people. Such representative must own at least five hundred acres of land; each voter, fifty.

Repre-
senta-
tion

Colonial
parlia-
ment

The nobles with the proprietaries or their deputies, and the elected representatives, constituted the parliament, holding biennial sessions in one chamber as a single deliberative body. Each county was represented in it by a landgrave, two caciques, and four elected members. In addition there was a grand council, composed principally of the nobility and the officers of the proprietaries, which must approve all measures before they could be submitted to parliament. All males above seventeen and under sixty must perform

military service on its summons. Every officeholder must own a certain amount of land, proportionate to his position. Trial by jury was established, a majority to decide. All freemen were given absolute power over their negro slaves; yet by previous implication, not over their religious belief.

1669

Carolina
constitution—
other
provi-
sions

Every conceivable function was regulated by law, down to marriages, births, deaths, and even the games and sports of the children. To avoid confusion from multiplicity of laws, all the colony's enactments were self-repealed at the end of a hundred years; and to avoid uncertainty regarding the meaning of laws, all commentaries thereon were prohibited! Finally, this constitution of a hundred and twenty articles, a vast labyrinth of often contradictory regulations, was to be the sacred and unalterable form of government for the Carolinas forever. As a fact, it was amended by its creators into four more sacred and unalterable forms, each superseding the last within a few years, one of them indeed within the very next year.

This piece of impracticable pedantry, to which Locke is said to have given more than six years of earnest effort, never really worked for a day; primarily because emigrants were so unreasonable that none were willing to be "common people," incapable of ever rising out of that station, though timber for nobles was plenty enough. Low-caste people might come over, but they meanly refused to play fair when they did.

Cause of
failure

1669-70

Sound
law-mak-
ing of Al-
bemarle

While Locke was classifying an imaginary people of humble puppets, the real people of the Albemarle district, who were neither humble nor dolls, had convoked a General Assembly, which met in 1669 as already noticed, and framed a rough practical constitution of their own. The governmental structure of this body of backwoodsmen remained in force more than forty years, and gave such wholesome satisfaction to the people that in 1715 they deliberately re-enacted it, with the changes and additions demanded by the progress of time.

Sayle's
intended
Port
Royal ex-
pedition

Monk, Duke of Albemarle, was installed as the first palatine. The proprietaries showed their faith in the scheme by fitting out two ample vessels at a cost of £12,000 (about \$200,000 now), for the first company of emigrants, their supplies, and a stock of cattle and swine. A number of women and girls came over in these ships, and had no difficulty in finding husbands. The expedition sailed January 1670, under command of Colonel William Sayle; an officer of experience and sense, who had made several voyages along that coast, examining its capes and inlets for the proprietaries; and they now constituted him governor of the region "lying south and west of Cape Carteret," which had been especially exempted from the jurisdiction of Yeamans to avoid conflicts of authority. The proprietaries' constitution is not a measure of their administrative judgment.

Port Royal, in South Carolina, was named as the destination of the colonists; but they went by way of Barbadoes, and were several months in

reaching the Carolina coast. They attempted a settlement at Beaufort, on Port Royal Island: but the harbor was too easy of access for hostile ships; they had not resources to build the necessary fortifications, and they wished to live in peace and not amid war or fears of war. Accordingly, after a rather feeble effort to establish a town, they sailed up the coast and entered the wide estuary which now constitutes the harbor of Charleston. Casting anchor about three miles above the mouth of Ashley River,—selecting this location as “the first high land convenient for tillage and pasturage,”—they landed and built a little group of cabins. These were dignified by the name of Charlestown, in compliment to the King: the first English settlement in South Carolina. No certain date attaches to the event, but it must have been not far from midsummer of 1670.

1670

Sayle
experi-
ments on
Beaufort

Founds
the first
Charles-
ton

How long these first English inhabitants remained at Old Charlestown is not definitely known; but it was certainly no great length of time. Governor Sayle soon fell a victim to the climate, and after his death the colony crossed over Ashley River and settled on the west bank of the Cooper, not far off. The greater width of Cooper River, as affording more spacious harborage, might have been an attraction; but more likely they believed, with good reason, that the peninsula between the two rivers would be safer for them and their flocks than the open country. It was also nearer their food supply. Then and for several years afterward, the point of land

Dies and
colony
removes

1671-80

Oyster
Point

where the city of Charleston now stands was known as "Oyster Point," and daily expeditions visited it in quest of the oysters, which for some months constituted almost their only meat. As soon as the Indians were aware of this, they began to lie in wait for them in the thick bushes and grass, and the boats had to go well manned and armed, even so being sometimes attacked. At length the treaty already referred to was confirmed, and there was peace for some years.

Grows
into
Charles-
ton

Gradually, with no apparent intention of building a town there, cabins began to spring up at Oyster Point, to save journeys and for better protection from the savages. In this manner was "founded" the new Charles-town; but its inhabitants called it merely Oyster Point until about 1679 or 1680, when, the whole town having been removed thither, they applied the old name to it. And it so remained for more than a century, until shortened into the modern style of "Charleston" after the Revolution. All the buildings at the other two places soon disappeared, and the ground was utilized for plantations. It is a question if any one knows the precise locations of those original Charlestownes.

The new city was admirably placed at the extreme point of the peninsula. The land was low and almost flat, and even to the present day those who approach it in ships seem to see the city rising up out of the sea; hence it is sometimes called the Venice of America. The colonists named the two rivers whose junction forms the harbor, Ashley

and Cooper, in honor of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. The rivers run parallel for about six miles above the point, forming a rich water-locked peninsula where the settlers' stock could graze in security; while southward and eastward from their confluence lay outspread a magnificent harbor, capable of accommodating the then navies of the world. Each planter gave up half his land for "commons pasture," and the people settled down to the business of building for themselves a city and a country.

1670

Charles-
ton
Harbor

Luckily they were mostly to be freeholders, not "leet-men"; and therefore they made an honest effort to stage their governmental drama. But it needed an immensely larger company: the parts in it, including "citizens" and "mob," demanded thousands where they had only scores. The proprietaries had not yet appointed the land-graves and caciques, and to fill even the other upper-class positions—lords of manors, nobility, high functionaries of state, and officers of the army and navy—from their own ranks would have required the whole population. At best it was a political comic opera; and with the present cast it was all actors and no house. But the loyal colonists used up their talent as far as it went. Writs were issued requiring the freeholders to elect five persons, who, with five others to be appointed by the proprietaries, were to form the Grand Council, without whose consent the governor could not perform his functions. In fact, not a wheel of the whole complicated system could move while

Political
opera
bouffe

1670 any other wheel was missing. After forming the Grand Council, a parliament was composed of its members and twenty delegates chosen by the electors; then the colonists made the painful discovery that they were out of provisions! An urgent appeal was sent to the proprietaries for food, with a declaration that they had found it impossible to fully "execute the grand model," but were determined to "come as nigh to it as possible." Supplies were forwarded by return of ship, and with them the plan of a magnificent capital. The proprietaries at least were never stingy or neglectful, and their faith passed the faith of women.

First
South
Carolina
"parliament"

Port
Royal
again
looked to

Lavish
offers

While the people of Charles-town were acting to empty benches, the proprietaries made a desperate effort to establish a colony at Port Royal. That island was too near the borders of their contemplated empire to be neglected; and it had too fine a natural harborage to be lightly treated. In their visions they saw a new Venice arising in the marshes of Port Royal and St. Helena, with Broad River and St. Helena Sound transformed into grand canals. A special offer of one hundred and fifty acres of land, at a merely nominal quit-rent, was made to each emigrant thither; and any of these future lords of manors who were short of clothing might supply themselves from the stores of the proprietaries! Hundreds of needy Englishmen availed themselves of this astonishing liberality. And so it happened that many rakes and gamblers who had wasted their substance in riotous living, besides hundreds of Cavaliers

ruined by the civil wars,—some formerly high functionaries,—went out to the Carolinas to become lords of manors and look down on hopelessly imaginary serfs, where in fact they must do farm-laborers' work and even so could scarce ward off perishing from hunger!

1670-1

Feudal
grandeur
over a
hoe

But all classes were fish to the proprietaries' net. The persecuted Puritans were readily granted estates in the Carolinas on the simple condition of transporting themselves out of the kingdom. Some of the high-churchmen approved this on the ground that severe labor was a powerful remedy for excessive religious enthusiasm, while such enthusiasm was an excellent stimulus to novel and hazardous undertakings. Many of these and other nonconformists found homes in Carolina, and contributed valuable elements to its future. Putting them and the Cavaliers together produced plentiful discord and disorder, but each had their function.

Puritan
emigra-
tion
again
favored

Albemarle (Monk) died January 3, 1670, and was succeeded as palatine by Lord Craven. Soon afterwards, Sir John Yeamans, James Carteret, and John Locke were created landgraves with the landholdings attached. On the death of the aged Governor Sayle, March 4, 1671, Sir John Yeamans claimed the succession as the only landgrave in the colony; but the Grand Council preferred Joseph West, who had commanded universal respect as commercial agent for the proprietaries. He was not to be confirmed in the office, however, until the arrival of a commission from them;

Creating
a Caro-
lina
nobility

1671-5

Governor
Yeamans

and when this came it ordered the place conferred upon Yeamans, from his excellent administration of the colony on Cape Fear River. They wished also to dignify their honorary appointments by associating them with office.

Trader
before
adminis-
trator

This arrangement brought the scattered settlements into closer relationship, and ought to have been advantageous to them; but Yeamans took advantage of his station to direct nearly all the export trade to Barbadoes, for his own profit,—thus enriching himself at the expense of the settlers, who had frequently to call on the proprietaries for relief. These appeals generally met with prompt responses, but not always without complaint, for the proprietaries were growing weary of supporting profitless colonies. The inconsiderate encouragement of emigration had brought in a swarm of ne'er-do-weels, often a burden on public charity, and too many of the outright vicious classes. The general prosperity was seriously hampered by these elements, and within three years after Yeamans' appointment a large debt had accumulated against the plantations. In 1674 he was removed, and West re-appointed, on the colonists' promise to pay his salary. Yeamans returned to Barbadoes, there to enjoy his large fortune of questionable growth; but the Carolina climate avenged the colonists, and he lived but a short time after.

Vicious
emigra-
tionYea-
mans' re-
moval
and
death

Meanwhile the colonies had been gaining in numbers and commerce, and West's orderly and honest methods soon put a very different aspect

on affairs. Men of means became willing to venture something. The colonies not only became self-supporting, but began to produce a small revenue for the proprietaries; and their complaints, in recent years almost incessant, ceased. But the people were not yet able to pay the promised salary or other expenses of government; and the proprietaries, instead of wasting time trying to hold the colonists to the agreement, assigned West all their stock, unused supplies, and overdue debts, pertaining to his Carteret and Cape Fear jurisdictions—thus also giving him a new and larger interest in the colony. He was given almost unlimited governmental powers, which he used with so much prudence that he soon put a stop to the drain on the treasury and gave the colonies credit and standing. His administration was long remembered as a period of prosperity and contentment in the southern settlements.

Meantime the proprietaries had published a “temporary” code of laws, to be observed until population was large enough to fill out the “grand frame.” They were simple regulations applicable to daily affairs, and better suited to their wants than anything more elaborate. Among other things enjoined were the utmost equity and courtesy toward the Indians, prompt and ample redress for their wrongs, and absolute prohibition to kidnap or enslave any of their children. Unfortunately, the objects of this provision were defeated by the intrigues of the Spaniards, who sent emissaries from St. Augustine among the tribes in the

1674
et seq.

Proprietaries
sell out
part to
West

Temporary law
code

1671

Span-
iards
inflamm
Indians

English provinces, to inflame their hatred of the whites and incite acts of hostility; also to work up a slave insurrection at Charlestown, and seduce indented servants and slaves to fly to Spanish territory by promises of freedom and advancement to honorable places in society. The Indians were easily persuaded to commit outrages on the English settlements, for which any excuse was good enough, and once more the people were compelled to go armed about their daily occupations; while a number of servants ran away as hoped. But the effort at a rising of slaves amounted to very little. The importation of negroes thither had scarcely begun. The few brought over from Barbadoes by Sir John Yeamans were about all that could be found.

And
negroesAttempt
invasion
of Car-
olinas

The only movement made by the Spaniards themselves was an expedition against the Ashley River settlements. Information from the fugitives led them to believe that the colonists were not prepared to resist an attack; they accordingly dispatched a party to the island of St. Helena, expecting to be joined there by a number of colonial renegades and thence operate against the settlements to the north. But they met with disappointment. The only Englishman who joined them was one Fitzpatrick, and he probably did so to frighten off the expedition. He told them that his people were not only fully advised of the onslaught and thoroughly prepared to meet it, but that a party of volunteers under command of Colonel Godfrey, a noted fighter, had been dispatched to attack them

in their own camp. The volunteers, he said, were made up of the most daring characters among the old soldiers of the Puritans and the Cavaliers, than whom there were no better fighters in the world. The Spaniards in a panic deserted the camp, went on board their vessel, and set sail for St. Augustine. Godfrey and his party—who were genuine—found not a single Spaniard on the island, and were spared all risk. Thus ended the Spanish effort to reduce the Carolinas. The boldness of the pioneers struck terror also into the hearts of the red men, who soon afterward ceased their efforts against the settlers and turned their fury upon one another. Their two strongest tribes, the Westoes and the Serenas, of course at feud, assailed and almost annihilated each other.

Peace restored, affairs in South Carolina quickly assumed a more promising aspect. The natural and social conditions of this colony were of a character to attract favorable attention from all parts of the world. First came a colony of Dutchmen from New Amsterdam, transformed by British conquest into New York. Their abandoning one English colony for another seems odd; but the humiliation of living under the rule of the old neighbors they had so long fought was bitter. Nicholls' terms were not satisfactory to many old Dutch settlers; and the Carolina proprietaries, becoming aware of this fact, and always on the lookout to populate their own province, availed themselves of the opportunity to make them liberal offers, transporting a number of Dutch families to

1671-4

Spaniards
frightened into
withdrawalIndians
war on
each
otherDutch
immigration

1674
et seq.

Dutch
found
James-
town

And de-
sert it

Charlestown at their own expense. The Dutch were cordially welcomed. Stephen Bull, whose family subsequently became famous in the province, was surveyor-general, and as instructed, located a large body of lands for the new arrivals on the west bank of the Ashley. The Dutch assigned the lands by lot, built a town, and named it Jamestown. They prospered wonderfully. Their friends in New York, as well as in Holland, hearing of their good fortune, flocked to South Carolina in large numbers. They did not find the climate detrimental, and rapidly multiplied; and—oddly for Dutchmen—preferring agriculture to commerce, spread inland, acquired plantations, and diffused themselves through the province until Jamestown was wholly deserted.

Tropical
products
in Car-
olinas

It had long been a favorite theory that the Carolinas would become the home of the olive and other semi-tropical fruits and products; and King Charles sent to these provinces, at his own expense, a small colony of Protestant refugees from the south of Europe, to domesticate such products. Among other things, they were expected to produce wines rivaling the most famous brands of Europe; to supplant the cedar with the orange; and to found the silk industry on forests of mulberry trees. Some of these expectations were met, while others brought disappointment; but the general result was very encouraging. Attention was markedly called to certain lines of industry that might become remunerative, and the colonists encouraged to put forth greater efforts. The attempts

to domesticate European cereals and fruits had not been very successful, but new fields now began to open. The most extraordinary maps and descriptions of the provinces were circulated throughout Protestant Europe, resulting in a large influx of intelligent and enterprising inhabitants. Dutchmen came from Holland, bringing their money and their industry with them; broken-down Cavaliers and courtiers of England sought to repair their shattered fortunes; Dissenters galled by the arrogance of high-church functionaries, and English Protestants fearing the return of popery, sought peace and safety in the same region of guaranteed religious freedom; thither too came the Scotch Covenanters and the defeated revolutionists of Monmouth's and Argyle's unsuccessful rebellions. Irish Catholics also formed a respectable colony. The proprietaries' wise liberality secured thousands of these excellent materials for empire-building.

1670-86

Varied
coloniz-
ing ele-
ments

In 1684 another unsuccessful effort was made to people the island of Port Royal, the scene of several bloody incidents in the past. Lord Cardross brought over a little colony of ten families of Scotch Presbyterians, harried out of their own country by the British government. These people planted themselves on an arm of the sea at the southeastern extremity, and submitted with reluctance to the Ashley River jurisdiction. They occupied an exposed position, which Sayle and his colonists had abandoned as untenable. Soon after their arrival their leader returned to Europe,

Renewed
Port
Royal
settle-
ment

1685
et seq.

Port
Royal
slaugh-
tered out

where he took a prominent part in the revolution that unseated James II. The Spaniards were informed of their defenseless position, fell upon the little settlement and wiped it from the face of the earth. A few escaped, some mingling with the older settlements of the Carolinas, others returning to Scotland after the accession of William III.

Large
Hugue-
not immi-
gration

Just at this period occurred the revocation of the Edict of Nantes which had given the Huguenots partial toleration, and the fleeing of many thousands from a persecution where every possible outrage was let loose upon them. All Protestant Europe received swarms of the refugees; they founded a new suburb of London. The French social nature made them generally shrink from the far American exile; but some thousands overcame this fear for freedom's sake, and came hither—generally after a sojourn in England, to which it was easier to fly, transportation to America being rarely available on short notice. Many reached here in utter destitution; many, on the other hand, left property behind which was honorably conserved by relatives or friends, and it or its proceeds remitted to the owners here, enabling them to found businesses or maintain themselves on fine estates or in professions. Some went North, and have left distinguished names in New England and New York; but most of them preferred the warm southern regions like their own, where they could raise the vine and kindred products, and were especially attracted to the Charleston district. In

the end, several thousand gathered in its vicinity, and numbers of the noblest family names in Southern history proclaim their French origin. We will mention but three, of national fame—John Sevier, Francis Marion, and Matthew L. Maury. Wherever this strain has flowed, it has left behind a grace, a gayety, and an impetuous and chivalrous enthusiasm which are wholly good in our national life.

1670
et seq.

Splendid
Hugue-
not
strain

But along with these various thrifty and energetic bodies came numerous hangers-on at the fringe of the English aristocracy, who had no position at home and would not work or trade for fear of losing it; they had thought to be the head gentry here, with tenants to make them rich and powerful minus any exertion of their own, and were rendered bitter and whining, without being rendered self-helpful, by the bareness of their new life and their own insignificance in it. The proprietaries, especially during Yeamans' administration, were annually called on for contributions to the colony's support. They always complied with the appeals, but did not believe the assistance was actually necessary. They blamed Yeamans for the constant drain on their resources; no doubt half rightly, but it did not cease after his removal, and these demands added constantly to the debt that stood against the province. Its healthy growth was retarded by the ill feeling between the proprietaries and this dissatisfied element; not Dutchmen or Puritans or Huguenots who took conditions as they found them and labored earnestly for their

Discon-
tented
shabby-
genteel
aristoc-
racy

Retard
colonial
growth

1670
et seq.

Proprie-
taries
advise
and as-
sist self-
help

improvement, but the class that had expected to idle as a new nobility in the western world.

The proprietaries were annoyed and disgusted at their constant exactions and complaints; and while they continued to send the supplies asked for, and promised annual contributions in the future, did not hesitate to remind the beneficiaries that they should expect repayment. They had fully made up their minds not to create or assume any more desperate debts. "It must be bad soil," they declared, "that will not maintain industrious men; or we must be very silly that would support the idle." At the same time they sent out a large assortment of vines and useful plants, and a number of men familiar with their management; but denied an application for cattle, as not wishing to encourage graziers but planters. They also recommended the cultivation of tobacco, to form a circulating medium until the more useful products could be substituted.

There were two great points on which proprietaries and inhabitants were at irreconcilable odds; and the colonists had their own way in both, right or wrong, because the questions were life or death to them and not to the promoters:—

Contest
over debt
collect-
ing

First, the proprietaries desired all debts fully paid without unreasonable delay, whether contracted in the colonies or outside (*i. e.* England). To this end they demanded that the laws of England should be rigidly enforced. This the colonists strenuously refused, and enacted and maintained laws that made it practically impossible to

collect a debt contracted beyond the limits of the province. Many had lost their estates and become heavily involved through the civil wars in England, without fault of their own; and claimed, with a good show of reason, that it would be grossly unjust to rob them of their new acquisitions to pay the old debts. Moreover, the English debt-laws were arbitrary and cruel.

1670
et seq.

Colonists
disap-
prove
debtor
laws

Second, the colonists claimed the right to cripple or break the power of the surrounding Indian tribes by waging war against them and selling their captives into slavery. The proprietaries were emphatic in denouncing the policy both as unjust and inhuman, and as unwise in provoking forces too great to crush. The colonists denied both contentions: the Indians had begun and were continuing unprovoked horrors, worse than the retaliation; this was the only way to end them, and there was now white strength to do it. The result proved the correctness of the latter opinion at least; but the struggle was long and cruel.

Proprie-
taries
disap-
prove en-
slaving
Indians

The growth of negro slavery in the Carolinas was due to the same causes as in the earlier southern colonies, plus the fact that it already existed there. The soil, best fitted for a few great staples workable by gangs, the hot steaming climate ill-fitted for white labor, the relative cheapness of buying over hiring even were the latter possible, and the great difficulty of hiring where nearly every one had means to work for himself, impelled it; the consequent impossibility of competing in these

Negro
slavery

1670
et seq.

Immense
increase
of
negroes

staples by free labor compelled it. The Dutch brought their slaves from New York; the other classes soon bought theirs. All ambitious men hastened to "buy negro slaves, without which a planter can never do any great matter." The black race multiplied by importations and natural increase, until within a few years there were nearly twice as many negroes as whites in the lowlands of South Carolina.

Caro-
linas
always
two

Although the Carolinas were assigned to one company of proprietaries, and regarded in all essentials as a single province, they were in fact separate and distinct jurisdictions from the beginning. At no time did the same government extend over both. The distinction between North and South Carolina has always been as clear and definite as at present. They were named "the Carolinas" in the first charter from Charles II., as they have ever since remained. Even the separate settlements in each province were governed as distinct municipalities, though eventually consolidated and brought under the control of the respective commonwealths.

The
"grand
frame" in
Albe-
marle

When Colonel Sayle and his company brought over the "grand frame" of government, and made their heroic but ineffectual effort to apply it in the wildwoods of South Carolina, another copy was sent to the settlements on Albemarle Sound, to be enforced there also. But the people of that district received the portentous instrument with bitter animosity and suspicion. They also had much too small a company for the cast, and none

1. A Gentle to live with Comfort and Decency and next a list
 of what is required to settle an Estate of £300 a year from which you
 may see the various conditions of life as upon proper orders to give
 myself by what I must own as a family of 12 persons and
 of what I must have for the first year or two to maintain

2 Hogs 1200 lbs each	£40	£80
1000 lbs of Corn	£1.50	£150
400 lbs of Beef	£1.50	£600
collected Mill or pair of Querns		3
1000 lbs of Wood for Sawdust and other Tools		2
200 lbs of Iron for Farming & Churns		6
1000 lbs of the first year or two		8
Corn Peas Beef pork &c for the first year		14
1000 lbs of small Corn & Querns		26

Charges of settling an Estate of £300 a year £150
 This is a list of what is required to settle an Estate of £300 a year from which you
 may see the various conditions of life as upon proper orders to give
 myself by what I must own as a family of 12 persons and
 of what I must have for the first year or two to maintain

30 Hogs 1500 lbs each	£40	£1200
20 Cows and Calves each	£1.50	£30
2 Hares 1000 lbs each	£10	£20
1000 lbs of Corn	£1.50	£150
400 lbs of Beef	£1.50	£600
1000 lbs of Wood for Sawdust and other Tools		2
200 lbs of Iron for Farming & Churns		6
1000 lbs of the first year or two		8
Corn Peas Beef pork &c for the first year		14
1000 lbs of small Corn & Querns		26

A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ESTIMATE OF A COMFORTABLE CAROLINA ESTATE.

(From the Carter Brown Library at Providence, R. I.)

were willing to play the hopeless hereditary "mob"; they were already enjoying a simple form of government framed by and for themselves, and were in no mood to give it up. The instrument produced no effect save to excite distrust of the good intentions of the proprietaries. It was regarded—quite without foundation—as the first step in a scheme to set aside the Albemarle colonies and assign them to Sir William Berkeley as his share of the whole. The Assembly of 1675 presented a remonstrance to the proprietaries against the measure, which they denounced as no less injurious to individuals than degrading to the country. The proprietaries replied in the most conciliatory tone, declaring that they had no intention of dismembering the province, and admitting that they had not bestowed upon the northern settlements the degree of attention which their importance deserved. They promised better things for the future. But the distrust of the colonists had been profoundly aroused, and it was too deep-seated to be easily reconciled. They long continued to manifest a disturbed and insurrectionary spirit, so intense and widely diffused as to preclude any effort at government on the part of the proprietaries.

Shortly after this remonstrance, the dissatisfaction reached a state bordering upon open insurrection; and Thomas Miller, one of their leaders, was arrested on suspicion and sent to Jamestown in Virginia for trial. The incident added fresh fuel to the fires of popular indignation. The people resented Miller's arbitrary arrest, and trial

1667-76

North
Carolina
objects to
Locke
constitu-
tion

Enduring
bad
results

Miller de-
ported
for trial

1674-7

Anarchic
condi-
tions in
Albe-
marle

beyond the limits of the province. The prosecutors failed to convict him, and on his release he went to England and made complaint to the proprietaries. Meantime Stephens, the governor of Albemarle, died, and the Assembly chose one Cartwright to succeed him *ad interim*. After an earnest but ineffectual effort to restore order, Cartwright in disgust abandoned the colony and went to England.

To make
repre-
senta-
tions to
England

The Assembly now decided to send over an intelligent representative, to lay before the proprietaries a true statement of conditions and demand redress. A chief complaint was based on unjust trade restrictions. The influx of New England settlers had led to close and profitable commercial relations with Boston, but the Navigation Acts endeavored to compel direct trade with England by exorbitant taxes on intercolonial commerce. The people resented this interference with their livelihood, and were determined not to obey. Miller had first come into prominence as agent of the proprietaries in enforcing the Navigation Acts, and at one time had been driven out of the colony by the indignant populace; but the above arrest and trial temporarily identified him with popular rights.

East-
church
sent over

Nevertheless, two years elapsed before the Assembly chose its representative, one Thomas Eastchurch, ex-Speaker of the Assembly and a person of considerable influence. He was instructed to act in conjunction with ex-Governor Cartwright, and secure the best terms possible. Both men,

however, had an eye single to their own interest; they joined hands with Miller, and greatly deplored the growing disaffection in the province, which they represented as being "in ill order and worse hands."

1676-7

Albe-
marle
agents
form
ring

The proprietaries in England were perplexed: they scarcely knew what course to pursue. The Carolinas had been a clear loss to them from the beginning, and there were no indications of improvement. It was undoubtedly their wish to do what was right, and for the best interests of themselves and the colonists; but they were misled by designing adventurers. Miller convinced them not only that he had been greatly wronged by his transportation to Virginia, but that there was no ground for the charges against him. They indemnified him by the offices of colonial secretary and collector of the proprietary revenues, and Shaftesbury in addition made him his special deputy for the Carolinas. His success had exceeded his brightest anticipations: he was not only justified but made chief ruler. The man who handled the revenues, and personally represented the most influential of the proprietaries, had matters virtually in his own hands. Eastchurch was appointed governor, an office much above his deserts or ability; and the two worthies sailed together on their return voyage.

Miller
wins
chief
prize

They landed first on Nevis Island, in the West Indies, where Eastchurch met and became desperately enamored of a beautiful young heiress. His position as governor of a province gave him access

East-
church's
love
affair

1677 to the best society, and he pressed his suit with an ardor that promised success. But the lady was hesitant; and fearing to leave her without a definite promise, he appointed Miller as his deputy and sent him to rule over Albemarle "till the chain that bound him proved too weak to hold him, or strong enough to draw the beauty who had imposed it." The delay won his suit, but cost him his office; for when he arrived in Albemarle he found that the local government had been overturned by a successful revolution, and the people were supreme. He thereupon appealed to Governor Berkeley of Virginia for aid; but before anything could be accomplished, his career was ended by death.

Love
vs.
office

Revolution in
Albemarle

Conditions in
Albemarle

Lawless
element

During this interval a number of very interesting events had occurred in North Carolina. Miller arrived in July 1677. He was received by the people with evident disgust, but no outward insubordination. Albemarle in spite of the most adverse conditions had prospered, now exporting annually 800,000 pounds of tobacco, besides many cattle and large quantities of Indian corn; and acquired a considerable population, comprising fourteen hundred "taxables," which embraced all the working hands between sixteen and sixty—one-third of these being women, negro slaves, and Indians. The population was most diverse—made up largely of Puritans, Hollanders, Huguenots. English refugees, and turbulent characters fled from Virginia for shelter in a community that surrendered no one to the law; precisely such as

might have been found in any of our frontier towns during the past century.

1677

It was this liberty-loving and law-disliking people that Miller now set himself to govern. As collector for the proprietaries, and so the King, he levied a tax of two cents a pound, in money or "kind," on all tobacco exported to the other colonies, though it went free to England. This single item laid a burden of \$16,000 a year on the little community. It amounted almost to confiscation; for tobacco was about all they had worth taxing, or of use for purchasing the necessities of life. The settlers became ugly, and made threats; but for the time they paid the tax, with mental reservations of future vengeance. During the first six months Miller collected more than \$5000 in money and thirty-three hogsheads of tobacco. As the funds grew, the people's indignation grew also. Every possible device was resorted to in their efforts to evade the law. Smuggling became an art and a patriotic endeavor; yet Miller succeeded in collecting the greater part of the tax.

Onerous
tobacco
tax

Fight
against
smug-
gling

At length, in December 1677, a New England trader named Gillam brought his ship into Pasquotank Inlet, in the very midst of the rich tobacco fields; and announced that he had "three times the goods that he had brought last year" to exchange for the colonial staple. But he had neglected to comply with the law—he was in fact a smuggler; and Miller boarded his vessel at the head of an armed party, "with a brace of pistols" buckled around him, one of which he presented

Comes to
warfare

1677-8

Smug-
gling
stopped
by arms

at Gillam's breast while he ordered his arrest as a felon. Although his ship and crew were well armed, Gillam was too shrewd a Yankee to offer resistance. He submitted quietly to arrest, gave his bond of \$5000 to appear for trial, and then notified the people that he would bring them no more goods at such a risk.

Result-
ant in-
surrec-
tion

The inhabitants had submitted to the oppressive tax, yielded to Miller's interference in their elections, and endured his arbitrary and overbearing manners; but they would not surrender at his command their only means of existence: the very life of the province depended upon an open market with the other colonies. By common consent one John Culpeper—a Cavalier who had been surveyor-general, was then a political refugee from the lower settlements, and was a popular hero—took the lead in resistance; and almost instantly the whole district of Pasquotank flamed out into vigorous insurrection. It was soon joined by other districts, whose interests were mutual; and apparently in the twinkling of an eye the whole Albemarle country was in an uproar. Cavaliers, Puritans, Dutchmen, Irishmen, Huguenots, all proclaimed their unalterable opposition to the tax. Miller and his deputies were thrown into prison; and the funds of the revenue officers, now nearly \$15,000, were seized and applied to public uses. A popular Assembly was called, new courts were established, and the entire machinery of government was taken under control by the revolutionists. So quick and sharp had been this

popular outburst that Miller and his few supporters had no time even to fly; and they had no force to resist. 1678

The inhabitants of Pasquotank now issued a "remonstrance," addressed to all the rest of the county of Albemarle, explaining and justifying their course, and appealing to their fellow-colonists for support. Miller was charged principally with preventing free elections—consequently a parliament of their own choice to make known their complaints to the proprietaries—and with imposing grievous burdens on the commerce of the province. These seem to have been genuine grievances; but other imaginary ones intensified the feeling against him.

Albe-
marle
govern-
ment
over-
turned

Charges
against
Miller

Albemarle enjoyed a large trade with adjacent Indian tribes, and Miller was accused of a purpose to divert this from its natural channels, by establishing land communication with the southern settlements. The proprietaries did indeed, from obvious business common-sense, wish to make the interior regions accessible, to open up the whole country to settlement; but they had no object in diverting any trade from one of their own colonies to another. The Albemarle men, however, felt no concern in these broad views,—though in fact a larger settlement would have profited them as much as the southerners,—and looked only to keeping the little monopoly they had. Another charge was attempting to confine commerce to a few specified ports, instead of allowing ships to discharge at any convenient landing, as always in

He being
right as
to the
roads

And
ports

1678-80

Too
many
ports for
a tariff

the past,—every plantation being a port of entry, and each planter having his foreign supplies delivered almost at his own door. It was a very convenient arrangement, but made the collection of customs practically an impossibility—which was anything but displeasing to the planters.

Miller
escapes

All in all, the colonists believed that it was Miller's purpose to use his official position for their general undoing, and his arbitrary conduct had so embittered their feelings that he could hardly expect a fair trial. But the Albemarle people being now in full control, which they retained without interference from Europe for more than two years,—and perhaps gaining some fresh insight into government needs of revenue,—the heat of their rancor gradually subsided. Miller and his associates remained in prison, but after about two years they were all allowed to escape, and made their way to London.

Virginia
hostile to
Carolina

Meanwhile Virginia, dominated by Berkeley both before and after Bacon's unsuccessful rebellion, had manifested an evil spirit toward North Carolina. Had the affairs of the Old Dominion been controlled at this period by men of liberal views, it might have secured and retained nearly the whole commerce of the southern provinces; but its semi-aristocracy was as narrow as the Albemarle democracy. In 1679 the House of Burgesses passed an act prohibiting "the importation of tobacco from Carolina, as it had been found very prejudicial"; and in 1681 the governor of Virginia, writing to the committee of colonies in

London, declared that "Carolina (I mean the north part of it) always was and is the sink of America, the refuge of our renegadoes, and till in better order, dangerous to us." This hostility finally aroused the apprehensions of the North-Carolinians, who, fearing an invasion from Virginia, dispatched Culpeper and a colonist named Holden to England, to offer submission to the proprietaries, on condition that they would punish Miller and ratify Albemarle's action. Even protection was not worth surrendering any advantage they had gained.

1680

Appeal to
proprie-
taries

Their ambassadors found that Miller and his fellow-refugees had already filled the country and the courts with complaints and accusations; but Shaftesbury, still the most powerful in the board of proprietaries, threw his whole influence on the side of the popular representatives. His career prevents us from crediting him with any special honesty of purpose; nor had the inspirer of the caste-constitution any love for democracy. But he doubtless realized, as a shrewd practical politician, that men who possessed popular confidence were more likely to be useful instruments than one who had provoked a rebellion and was universally hated; and that Miller's return would continue and intensify the turmoil, and possibly break up the settlements by another rebellion. Culpeper was preparing to return successful to Albemarle, when he was accused by the commissioner of customs of having acted as collector without authority, and of embezzling the King's revenue. The

Shaftes-
bury for
colonists

1680-2
Arrest of
Culpeper

charges were probably instigated by proprietaries hostile to Shaftesbury, but they were technically true. Culpeper, however, was no more culpable than the rest of the population. He had already gone on board for America when his arrest was made, on the assertion that he was fleeing from justice.

Freed by
Shaftes-
bury

The body of proprietaries now came forward as his accusers; and he was charged in addition with having incited rebellion. This was a more serious allegation than the other; but Shaftesbury, then at the zenith of his power, appeared in the prisoner's behalf, and succeeded in extricating him from his dangerous predicament. This versatile nobleman appealed to the jury on the ground that the troubles in Albemarle were nothing more than feuds between the planters, that there was no regular government in the colony, and that the worst which could be made out of the present disturbances would be a charge of riot. His enormous personal influence, perhaps more than his arguments, won the case. Culpeper was set free, and soon afterward returned to the Carolinas; he seems not to have lost influence on account of these troubles, but he was never again prominent in political matters.

Shaftes-
bury's
flight

This was Shaftesbury's last public appearance in connection with Carolina affairs. He was soon afterward obliged, in the reaction from the Popish Plot judicial murders which he had hounded on, to flee from the kingdom; and taking refuge in Holland, was soon joined by Locke, accused (most

improbably) of conspiring with him to overturn the Stuart government. After Charles' death and James II.'s accession, William Penn obtained a pardon for Locke; which he declined, on the ground that having committed no offense he could accept no pardon. But he shortly returned as of right under William and Mary, and requited Penn's good offices.

1683-9

Locke's
exile

After Shaftesbury's fall, the remaining proprietaries temporized with the colonists and soon lost all control over them. Finally, later in 1681, they formally decided to abandon any further effort to vindicate their rights, and to govern in future by whatever degree of obedience the colonists might be disposed to yield to them. It was a wise conclusion, for it saved them a vast amount of trouble and produced the same result in the end. A general amnesty was enacted. Peace reigned thereafter for two years, until the arrival of a new governor: one Seth Sothel, who had bought out Lord Clarendon's share for a nominal sum,—the proprietaries having by this time ceased to attach any particular value to their holdings,—and persuaded the rest of the board that he could restore their authority and profits and establish the Locke government, if they would appoint him governor with full power. But his ship was captured by Algerine pirates, and Sothel was detained in Africa for two years. An *ad interim* commission was issued to John Harvey; but the colonists treated his efforts at playing governor with indifference, and he was soon deposed. Another

Proprie-
taries
yield to
colonists

Sothel

1681-8 Phantom govern-ors unknown person, one John Jenkins, succeeded him for a brief period, and then followed him into obscurity. Jenkins was succeeded by Captain Henry Wilkinson, whose credentials named him as "governor of that part of Carolina lying five miles south of the river Pamlico, and thence to Virginia." Nothing further is known of Wilkinson, who had very little to do with the government. During this period of complete self-government in North Carolina, the colony grew and flourished.

Sothel's corrupt rule Sothel came finally in 1683, and his arrival changed the condition of affairs. He had sought the government solely to better his own fortune, and immediately entered upon a systematic course of plundering the inhabitants and cheating his associates, whom he had promised to enforce the navigation laws and establish Locke's scheme of government, never entirely abandoned. But he could not perform the first without inciting rebellion; and the latter was impossible without the accompanying ability to change a log cabin into a baronial castle, and transform a few miserable slaves into "leet-men." He therefore proceeded to enrich himself by exacting illegal fees and engrossing the Indian trade. Meanwhile the proprietaries' suspense was allayed by false reports, pictures of peace which existed only in the governor's imagination. The Carolinians endured Sothel for five years, when they arose, and without bloodshed deposed him from the office he had disgraced. Once more they appealed to the proprietaries, and were on the point of sending Sothel

to them to answer for his deeds, when that worthy begged to be tried by an assembly of the colonists: the resentment of a pillaged community was less formidable than the wrath of his deceived and defrauded business associates. His appeal was heard in mercy, for it was truly claimed that he had committed no acts of wanton cruelty: he was accordingly condemned to twelve months' exile and perpetual incapacity for official station. He accepted the sentence and departed for the southern Carolina province, where he will be heard from again.

1688

Sothel's
light
punish-
ment

These events constituted a double grief for the proprietaries. Sothel had committed at least a scandalous breach of trust; while the action of the people was a fresh usurpation of authority. As for the North-Carolinians, no sooner were they relieved from misrule than they assumed their characteristic equanimity. The other American colonies were inhabited principally by people who had come to the western forests to escape from bad government or bad social conditions, not from government as a whole; but the population of North Carolina was made up, in large part, of men and women who had found the restraints even of the other colonies too severe. They lived on detached farms, connected only by bridle-paths marked by notches in the trees. There were few villages or hamlets, and scarcely any towns. Each plantation rested on a broad expanse of bay or river, where the foreign ships unloaded their cargoes of pioneer utilities and comforts almost at

Condi-
tions in
North
Carolina

1672
et seq.

their doors; they had no occasion to journey to a city in quest of supplies.

Quakers
in North
Carolina

There were many Quakers in North Carolina, enough to influence the rest of the population. A Quaker preacher, William Edmundson, visited in 1672 his brethren among the Albemarle groves. He met with a "tender people," and made many new converts. A quarterly meeting for discipline was established; and the same autumn the settlements were visited by George Fox, the father of the sect. He traveled from Virginia across the Dismal Swamp, "lying abroad a-nights in the woods by a fire," until at last he found hospitality and a mat to sleep upon by the firesides of North Carolina. Not only his brethren, but the inhabitants in general, gave him a cordial welcome. He noted in his records that the people "lived lonely in the woods," with no other guardian for their solitary homes than a watch-dog. Here he found men of culture, self-exiled from the older countries, living the life of hermits, surrounded by their wives and children; all were apparently happy, and none expressed a desire to seek a change in their condition. Perfect freedom of conscience in religious matters prevailing among the people, kindness and good-will constituted their rule of conduct.

Farm
life

The plantations lay along the banks of Albemarle Sound and the rivers that flowed into it, and these were the highways of the settlements. Boats, skiffs, and light canoes were their principal equipages; and women and children, as well as

the men, were experts in the use of oar and paddle. At one of the meetings the "chief secretary of the province," who had been "formerly convinced," was present, and Fox became his guest. As they approached his plantation the boat grounded in the shallow channel; whereupon the host's wife shot out to them in her canoe, and conveyed them to her hospitable mansion. The Quaker apostle found the Carolinians "generally tender and open," and living in ideal simplicity and contentment.

George
Fox in
North
Carolina

A different state of affairs had sprung up in South Carolina. That people, it is true, under the prudent administration of Governor West, enjoyed a larger degree of commercial prosperity than their neighbors; but a spirit of distrust and jealousy had sprung up between the Puritans and other Dissenters on the one hand, and the Cavaliers and Episcopalians on the other. The latter had been favored by the proprietaries in property and offices. West endeavored to allay the excitement, but he could not be successful under such conditions; in fact, he was part of the grievance. He belonged himself to the Cavalier party, and made up out of it his Council, some of whom did not hesitate to treat the Puritans with insolence and contempt. Political bitterness reinforced religious hate. Public and even private business was neglected, and riot and disorder prevailed.

Govern-
or West
and
South
Carolina

The colonists professed themselves unable to keep their agreement of paying the governor's modest salary of \$500 a year; and it was then, as

1674
et seq.

Puritan
and Cav-
alier in
South
Carolina

above noted, that the proprietaries transferred to West their entire properties in South Carolina—a trust which this patriotic citizen managed with such faithfulness as to finally restore a large measure of prosperity to the languishing province. But the disputes between the Puritans and the Cavaliers continued for years, until a new generation, that knew not the bitterness of the quarrel in the mother country, came upon the stage.

Charles-
ton's
growth

Meanwhile the city of Charlestown flourished amazingly. Houses of a substantial and even an elegant appearance were erected. It was made the capital, and sole port of entry. So rapidly did it increase in population and wealth, that early in the succeeding century it became one of the foremost cities in America, noted for intelligence and refinement and the wide influence it exerted. For some time, however, the location proved extremely unhealthy; insomuch that annually between June and October the courts were closed, all business ceased, and men fled with their families. Orders were actually given at length to seek a more desirable location; but about that time a sudden and complete change occurred in the local conditions.

Revolu-
tion in
sanitary
condi-
tions

From a place of pestilence and death, Charlestown became noted as the most healthful city in the Carolinas. The inhabitants attributed this to the drying of the air by house-fires; but it was doubtless due to the draining of the swamps, the clearing of the forests, and the cessation of tearing up the ground to build in the older portions. The same causes have produced the same results in all our

pioneer settlements, and in foreign cities like Hong-Kong. In the latter part of 1680 the population amounted to between 1000 and 1200; two years later it had more than doubled. A visitor at the former period described the magnificent proportions of its plan. There were even then "buildings of great ornament and beauty," and places reserved for a church, a town-house, and other public structures; there was an artillery ground for the militia, and commodious wharves for trade and shipping.

1674
et seq.

Charles-
ton's
beauty
and pros-
perity

The Quaker John Archdale, later governor, about this time gives an illuminating glimpse at social conditions in the province; though from an opponent of the Church party, it is probably not unfair. "The most desperate Fortunes first ventured over to break the ice," he says; "which being generally Ill-livers of the pretended Churchmen, although the Proprietaries commissioned one Colonel West their Governor, a moderate, just, pious and valiant person, yet having a Council of the loose-principled Men, they grew very unruly, that they had liked to have ruin'd the colony by abusing the Indians, whom in prudence they ought to have obliged in the highest degree."

Turbu-
lent
South
Carolina
elements

As to the Indian problem, it is hard to judge which began the mutual outrages; but the whites in the end put themselves monstrously in the wrong. They not only persisted in selling their captives into slavery, and in kidnapping Indian children for the same purpose, but kidnapped women as well—an act no more forgiven by red

Indians
vs.
colonists

1674
et seq.Cause of
Indian
war

men than white. The Indians, used to killing whatever game ran at large, preyed upon the poultry, swine, and young cattle of the settlers, as easier meat to obtain than by the chase. The planters defended their property by arms, and several marauding Indians were killed. Their friends, according to savage law, sought revenge; and before the colonists were aware, the many petty raids back and forth suddenly swelled into a general Indian war. But even then, West found it extremely difficult to make the rancorous provincial factions act together in measures of general defense.

Colonial
zeal in
slave-
catching

In this strait, the Governor resorted to an expedient which, though successful, was not creditable to his humanity. He offered a price for every living Indian captive, and sold them to the West-Indian slave-traders at an advance. The traffic proved highly remunerative, and united the colonists in a grand and patriotic harmony. Puritans and Cavaliers laid aside their bickerings and went forth side by side to capture human beings for sale; from a contest of honorable defense, the war sank into a desperate struggle of greed. Nothing could stand against such zeal. Within a year the principal tribe was almost annihilated, and the terrified remnant sued for peace on any terms. What conditions would have been exacted, we cannot tell: the proprietaries had now received information of the affair, and issued a peremptory command that the enslavement of Indians should cease. Their whole conduct, indeed, proclaims

them honest and not rapacious men. They appointed a commission of four members to investigate all charges of wrong on either side, and to see that justice was done.

1680
et seq.

But these measures, determined in tone and earnestly meant as they were, did not produce the desired result. Slave-catching was too profitable to be immediately abandoned. The planters had established a market for slaves, and were bound to see it accommodated. No voice of Puritan, Huguenot, Nonconformist, Cavalier, or Churchman was raised against the infamous traffic. Even West, humane and fair-minded in everything else, opposed his superiors in this particular. Although peace had been declared and the Indians had ceased their depredations, the slave business actually increased by grace of the Indians themselves: the colonists fomented discord among the tribes, and persuaded each to sell its captives instead of burning them at the stake. Influential citizens and prominent officials took part in this scheme, on the excuse that it was wise policy to weaken the Indians by mutual hostilities, and enslaving the captives was more humane than the stake. This plausible philanthropy did not deceive the proprietaries; but it was some time before they could secure the enactment of laws prohibiting the practice.

Colonial
senti-
ment
united on
Indian
slavery

Opposed
by pro-
prietaries

Toward the close of 1683 West held an important parliament at Charlestown. Among its enactments were those for the formation of a regular militia, which the late war had shown to be a

1683-4

West
attempts
reform

necessity; opening roads through the forests that surrounded the capital, to give access by land to the settlements which had sprung up to the south; and for repressing drunkenness and profanity—if not directed especially against the Cavaliers, at least most resented by them, it being urged as a ground of West's removal, which took place immediately after this parliament adjourned. They were the administration's stand-bys, and not to be harassed. The principal charge, however, was West's persistent refusal to repress the traffic in Indians: he favored the planters' policy, but the proprietaries were resolute, and appointed in his place Joseph Moreton—a recently created landgrave, of whom nothing is known beyond this and the meagre events of his short administration. He secured his appointment through Lord Craven, and was probably his dependent.

Replaced
by
Moreton

A few months afterward Moreton assembled a parliament, which enacted a number of laws. There was an irregularity in its election, which caused much ill-feeling. The province was divided into the counties of Berkeley, Colleton, and Craven, the latter (recently formed) including the former Clarendon. The proprietaries wished the twenty members of the lower house chosen equally from Berkeley and Colleton, leaving none to Craven; but Berkeley, containing a majority of the population and including the capital, coolly excluded Colleton also, and returned the whole twenty members themselves. This usurping Assembly nevertheless proceeded to legislate for the

One
county
usurps
all power

whole province. One of its enactments raised the value of foreign coins—in other words, inflated the currency, for no other coins were in circulation. This was to raise prices and produce general prosperity; but it had of course the opposite effect,—the raised coins depreciated to their natural level, and were eventually the cause of much suffering.

1684
et seq.

Currency
inflation
in South
Carolina

This parliament also imitated the Albemarle policy and suspended all prosecution for foreign debts. The proprietaries were exceedingly displeased, declaring the act derogatory to the King's honor as obstructing the course of justice; and alleging truly that the colonial parliament had no authority to enact a law in defiance of English jurisprudence. So deeply offended were they that they suspended all the officials who had promoted the scheme, proclaimed the parliament illegally chosen, and ordered it dissolved and none other assembled in such an irregular manner. But their orders were disregarded by the people. Successive parliaments were elected in the same manner, until the people of the disfranchised counties became strong enough to assert and maintain their rights. No attention was paid to the protests of the proprietaries.

Debts
outlawed

Govern-
mental
locking
horns

By one expedient or another, the demoralizing traffic in Indians was continued. As the savages themselves rarely furnished prisoners enough to supply the demand, the colonists entrapped them by various methods. Moreton endeavored faithfully to enforce the law, and several prominent

Indian
kidnap-
pery

1684-7

Struggle
over en-
slaving
Indians

officers who had winked at this inhuman occupation were removed and disgraced; but the colonists hated him for it, and made his position so uncomfortable that he was forced to resign within a year. The Council again appointed West waiting instructions from England; he did not oppose the slave traffic and was consequently popular, but the indignant proprietaries removed him within a few months and sent over Sir Richard Kyrle. Kyrle died shortly after, before he had developed any definite policy; and West was again given the place by the Council. This time the proprietaries confirmed his appointment; but he made no change in his administration, and was soon replaced by Colonel Quarry. The latter in less than a year was removed for manifesting unlawful sympathy with pirates. Moreton was reinstated, and during his one year in office seems to have done his best to maintain peace and order among his restless citizenry. But he had not the capacity to govern such a population,—indeed, it may be doubted if any man had,—and failed to rise to the proprietaries' expectations.

Kaleido-
scopic
official
changes

Piracy

For many years, piracy had flourished alarmingly in the southern seas. Colonies of "buccaneers" had established themselves at various places in the West Indies; at first ostensibly privateers, to prey on the commerce of Spain during its wars, but when peace returned, continuing their depredations under the black flag of piracy. Spain had paid for its former monopoly the price of having the rest of the world for its enemy, and



L'OLONNOIS.



HENRY MORGAN.

no other nation was concerned at its losses from the freebooters. The latter in fact were generally regarded, if not as heroes and friends of humanity, yet as useful foes of the foe of humanity; and Charles II. knighted the Welshman Henry Morgan, the ablest and perhaps the worst of them all. The enormous profits of this illegitimate commerce, and its semi-legitimization by this act of the King, gave a decent pretext for the Carolinians to receive with open arms the overtures of the pirates for the shelter of their ports as places of refuge; the sea-rovers lavishly spent their golden spoils among the colonists for supplies or means of carousal or luxury, and there was much of more direct partnership. Charlestown became their port of entry. Ships under the black flag, or any other flag to serve a temporary purpose, were seen there as often as any other kind, and a goodly share of the town's prosperity was due to it.

Buccaneers

Enrich southern colonies most

In return for this colonial ægis, it was understood that the pirates should act at need as a navy in defending the harbors from the Spaniards; and there is no doubt but they performed good service in this respect. Spain then was scarcely less piratical than the buccaneers themselves. By right of universal sovereignty in the West, she claimed that of dispensing with a formal declaration of war before making armed descents upon unsuspecting settlements to exterminate them. She was particularly hostile toward the Carolinians, as nearest her Florida settlements; and it was believed that her ships would long since have

Mutual services

ravaged the southern coast, but for a healthy dread of the retributive vengeance of the pirates.

After the treaty of 1667, Charles was compelled to withdraw his favor from the buccaneers—who indeed, as Spanish commerce diminished, became the general terror of all civilized trade; and they were thereafter required to sail under their true colors. But the Carolinans knew that while the King could not openly lend his countenance to the pirates, those gentlemen were safe from the strong arm of the English navy so long as they confined their exploits to the robbing of Spanish ships. Hence the governor, most of the officials, and many leading citizens openly sympathized with them. Vainly did the proprietaries remonstrate, supported by a warning proclamation from the King. The colonists believed that they understood the situation better than any one at a distance could, and held on their course. In case of Spanish attack they could depend on the near-by pirates, and could not depend on the King's far-off ships. But this was as much pretext as reason: their gains from the pirates' purchases and their partnership in the seizures were the main ground, and not a few enterprising spirits had actually turned pirates themselves. Charlestown was a regular recruiting station for the buccaneer ships. The whole community was deeply corrupted by this insidious temptation. Piracy had lost its hideous visage and become a respectable enterprise, in which much of the best blood of the province was interested or engaged.

Piracy
winked
at when
only
priv-
ateering

Colonial
pretext
and
reason

The King and the proprietaries were shocked by the stories that came to their ears. They began to feel as if partly responsible for establishing a colony of freebooters across the sea. The officials they had appointed to suppress the evil were lending their influence—and even example—to encourage it instead. The Governor was known to be interested in piratical adventures, and declined to execute laws against his partners; indeed, he could not had he wished, for he had neither army nor navy, and the sympathies of the community were heavily with the pirates. It was a state of affairs not infrequent in history, where nearly the whole of a subordinate society was arrayed on the side of those breaking the laws of a suzerain society.

At length, in April 1684, a “law against pirates” was framed and transmitted to the province, with orders from the proprietaries that it should be enacted by the local parliament and enforced by its executive. The first demand was readily complied with—the law was placed upon the statute books; and there it rested. It was openly violated, even by those who had officiated in its enactment. Pirates swaggered through the streets and filled the drinking-shops as before; ships without clearance papers, though often under the British flag, came into port, unloaded their captured treasures, and sailed out to repeat the operation.

For three years longer piracy continued to flourish on the southern seas; then James II.

1670-84

England
at odds
with
colonies
over
piratesSouth
Carolina
ignores
law
against
them

1686-7

Pirates
driven off
by fleet

(acceded 1685) sent a fleet of warships under Sir Robert Holmes to suppress it. The pirates were duly informed, and their friends on shore advised to put their house in order. The mere advent of the fleet cleared the seas of them temporarily. It could not remain permanently, and on the heels of its departure the freebooting vessels appeared once more; but its moral force was more potential than its shotted guns. It was a warning that irresistible government power was now to be turned upon the evil-doers. It served also to remove from piracy the respectability lent it by a seeming tacit acquiescence of the fountain of law; and the element naturally law-abiding refused any longer to lend it countenance. Piracy continued to infest the southern seas for many years afterward; but it soon sank to its true level of vulgar crime, and lost its influence. Men could no longer become pirates without being disgraced; so respectable money and respectable recruits were alike withdrawn.

Piracy
becomes
off-colorSpanish
reprisal

A year before Holmes' coming, the Spaniards had made a bold stroke of retaliation. In 1686 three heavily armed Spanish galleys appeared in the Port Royal waters, found the settlements almost unprotected, landed and laid waste the island. Many were killed, and their bodies consumed in the flames of their own houses; others were barbarously whipped and abused, and a number were killed after they had surrendered. The invaders proceeded up the coast to Bear Bluff on Edisto River, which they sacked. Here they

captured a brother of Governor Moreton, a prominent citizen, whom they chained on board one of their galleys. This was soon after driven ashore in a storm; it could not be pulled off, and the Spaniards set it on fire and fled in the others, leaving the chained Moreton to be burned alive.

1686-7

 Shocking
Spanish
outrages

The incensed colonists made immediate preparations to invade Florida, intending to destroy St. Augustine in retaliation. But the proprietaries positively forbade the movement. Every rational man must have seen, they declared, that the Spaniards would retaliate for the outrages upon their commerce; the colonists were not authorized to make war on the subjects of Spain, in its own territory—even they, the proprietaries, claimed no such power themselves. The expedition was accordingly abandoned; whereupon the proprietaries wrote rather grimly, “We are glad you have laid aside your project; as had it proceeded, Moreton, Godfrey, and others might have answered it, perhaps, with their own lives.” The officers were also instructed to write a “civil letter” to the Spanish commander at St. Augustine, inquiring by what authority he had acted while his country was at peace with England. No copy has been preserved; that its “civil” tone did nothing to change the situation, may be inferred from the fact that mutual dread and animosity prevailed henceforth almost continuously between Florida and the Carolinas.

 Colonists
want war

 Proprie-
tors stop
it

The proprietaries, dissatisfied with Moreton’s ill success, replaced him by James Colleton, a

1778 THE CAROLINAS TO THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

1684-5

Moreton
replaced
by
Colleton

brother of one of their number, with instructions to punish him and his council for disobedience; but Colleton was unable to carry out the mandate, owing to the determined espousal of Moreton's cause by the stronger of the two parties which had sprung up in the colony. Moreton held no office thereafter, but there is no record what eventually became of him. He is represented by some historians as a faithful and honorable man, who honestly tried to carry out the wishes of his employers while serving the interests of the people; but he accomplished neither, lost the confidence of the former, and had little popularity with the latter, until the attempt of foreign superiors to punish him for disobedience aroused their sympathies with him as a fellow-colonist.

More-
ton's
character

James II.
pro-
claimed

On the death of Charles II. the Carolinians proclaimed his successor with extravagant demonstrations of joy. As in all such cases, love of a sensation, of a good time and of display, and weariness of the old order, outweighed any reasoned hopes from a king whose policy they could not forecast. James' theory, as we know, was to combine all American colonies under one official head, forming a colonial power which, in conjunction with the mother country, should dominate France and Spain together. It was the dream of a statesman; but the Carolinas, like all other colonies, would have detested and remonstrated against it had it come close to them. As it did not, they enjoyed the present without uneasiness over the future. But it was a serious matter with

the proprietaries. James had threatened to annul the proprietary charters as well as those of the broader commonwealths of New York and New England; and he was no sooner seated on the throne than he began to work out his scheme. The New-Englanders resisted, and came into conflict with the royal authority, with varying final results. The Carolina proprietaries procrastinated; promising to submit, but not submitting; hoping that something might occur to save the wreck of their trans-Atlantic investment. Thus they tided over the evil day, until the second revolution swept James off the throne and out of the kingdom. Then they breathed more freely, but without cause, for William of Orange entertained opinions regarding America similar to James Stuart's.

Soon after James' accession, a collector of customs was established at Charlestown; and the proprietaries, desirous not to offend the King, earnestly entreated the colonists to submit with good grace. But the request was not heeded. The judges and magistrates contended that by the charter they were exempt from the navigation acts; against which, they informed the collector, "they held an act of Parliament to be of no force whatever!" They adhered steadfastly to this contention despite the arguments of the proprietaries, and even when the authorities seized their vessels and cargoes. The first effort to collect a customs revenue in the Carolinas was not a success.

1685-8

James
and the
chartersSouth
Carolina
refuses
to pay
duties

1684-6

Colle-
ton's
illusory
begin-
ning

The outset of Colleton's administration was very smooth and promising. The colonists were easy to govern so long as they could have their own way; and for a while he made no effort to run counter to their wishes. To increase his influence and elevate the dignity of his position, he had been created a landgrave, with 48,000 acres of land. But he soon had the mortification of discovering that neither his title, his estate, nor his office bore any weight. He found himself surrounded by factions "as rampant as if the people had been made wanton by many ages of prosperity." In the autumn of 1686 he convened a parliament; then he began to appreciate the magnitude of the task laid out for him. On attempting to organize it under the "grand frame of the constitutions," a majority refused obedience, on the truthful ground that the completed version differed from both the original draft and the "temporary laws,"—to wit, those enacted or agreed to by the colonists themselves, and which they had no idea of surrendering for the impracticable visions of a dreamer. On the Governor's command the objectors left the house; then organized separately, and drew up a code which they styled the "Standing Laws of Carolina." A copy was forwarded to the proprietaries for approval, and indignantly rejected, without argument and with peremptory orders that the "grand frame" should be observed.

Stormy
parlia-
mentSeceding
body's
code

As usual, their commands were not obeyed. After protesting vigorously against any action

the minority might take, the seceding members retired to their homes, and counseled the people to resist all efforts to impose unsatisfactory laws upon them. The success of their policy was manifest when a new parliament assembled the following year. The members came instructed to "oppose whatsoever the Governor requested"; and complied faithfully, even to the extent of voting against a militia law for their own defense! and flatly refusing to enact any kind of legislation. The wheels of government came to a complete standstill. From every quarter came a continuous stream of remonstrances and complaints. The Governor had provoked an insurrection, and found himself unable to control it. Then he committed the folly of declaring martial law, and like a true martinet, incapable of learning anything, persisted in trying to enforce it in a community where the people constituted the only soldiery—and the people all on the other side. It was popularly believed that his object was to monopolize the Indian trade; we need not believe it, but it confirmed the popular suspicion and dislike.

Matters went on thus for a long time. Colleton kept on issuing commands, without the least power to enforce them. Even had he such, they were often injudicious. This was especially true of his efforts to collect the delinquent quit-rents. These had been neglected almost from the beginning, had been discounted as outlawed or waived, and now amounted to oppressive sums; moreover,

1686-8

Colonial
parlia-
ment re-
fuses all
actionMartial
law
declaredThe quit-
rents

1686-8

Insurrec-
tion in
South
Carolina

not one acre in a thousand yielded the holders any surplus. No demand could better have served to increase public irritation, and had the governor persisted, universal riot would have ensued. Finding that the elected officials would not support him in enforcing his measures, he requested the proprietaries to appoint certain deputies he knew to be favorable to their interests. Apprised of this, the popular leaders seized and suppressed letters from England bearing commissions for obnoxious persons, and appointed others; then they issued writs in their own name; in 1686 they held Assemblies in opposition to the Governor, and in utter disregard of the proprietaries' authority; at last they seized upon the public records, and imprisoned the secretary of the province. The whole machinery of government was now in the hands of the people, and they no longer paid any regard to the mandates of the executive. All that was needed to complete the revolution was for some determined character to step forward as leader—and he appeared in due time!

Second
English
revolu-
tion

Meanwhile the tidings of the birth of a Prince of Wales were received in the colony, and honestly celebrated by all parties. The colonists were loyal to the monarchy, even though determined to govern themselves. But scarcely had the rejoicings ceased, when news came of the revolution and the accession of William and Mary; whereupon the new monarchs were proclaimed with mechanical regularity and indifference. The colonists took the home word for James' evil designs.

Among Colleton's martinet unwisdoms was the imposition of a \$500 fine on a dissenting minister, for preaching what he denounced as a seditious sermon. While the colonists were not especially distinguished for religious zeal, they resented this infringement on their right of free speech so emphatically that the proprietaries instructed the Governor to remit the fine. This was the only incident in Carolina history savoring of religious persecution by the government or any official; and this was chiefly political.

1688-90

Colleton
tries to
suppress
sedition

Amid these disorderly scenes of proclaimed martial law and actual insurrectionary government, appeared in 1690 a character already familiar to our readers. Seth Sothel, who had played so important a part in the northern province, now sprang into the southern arena, in the double rôle of proprietary and defender of the people's rights. The dual characters were not entirely reconcilable, but they caught the fancy of the mercurial populace; and Sothel, come at an opportune time, found himself immediately at the head of a numerous faction. Hailed as a deliverer from oppression, he easily brushed aside Colleton's weak authority and assumed supreme control. The other proprietaries had never known the facts of his malfeasance toward themselves while in office, nor perhaps of his expulsion as a criminal, and supposed him a victim of political riot; and he seems now to have written to them, outlining conditions in South Carolina and assuring them that he would restore order and protect

Sothel
comes to
the fore

1690-3

their mutual interests, otherwise they would probably have interposed and stopped him.

Sothel
clears
away op-
ponents

With an unbounded assurance Sothel combined a certain degree of audacious talent, the two enabling him to carry his point. With a gracious semblance of respect to petitions suggested by himself, he called a parliament; and was careful to see that no members were chosen except those certain to support his policy. On its assembling, at Sothel's dictation Colleton was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, disabled from holding any office in the province, and banished; and henceforth disappears not only from this history, but from all record. Sothel enforced a general removal of the old officials. Most of them were accused of having abetted Colleton's misgovernment; and fines, imprisonment, and exile were inflicted upon them. The demagogue thus relieved himself of troublesome rivals and added to his riches at the same time, for he pocketed the larger share of the fines. Personal enrichment seems to have been his sole object; certainly he bent everything to its accomplishment, utterly disregarding others' rights. He ruled the colonists with a rod of iron, trampling under foot every restraint of justice and equity. His financial operations were varied only by his differing methods of rapine. Honest sailors from Barbadoes and other islands were seized as pirates, and compelled to pay heavy forfeitures for the recovery of their ships and cargoes; while bribes were accepted from real outlaws as a license to continue their nefarious

Regime
of
plunder

occupations. Obviously, he must have shared the plunder with his "heelers," who controlled the votes which kept him in power.

1663

But those who did not share the profits of this factional tyranny chafed under the yoke, and their complaints began to flow across in a steady stream to the proprietaries. Being now fully informed of Sothel's usurpations and villainy, they ordered him to appear in England for trial under threat of mandamus from the King. In the double fear of vengeance from his fellows and from an outraged people, Sothel vacated his functions and fled the province; but no further than Albemarle, where he was left undisturbed till his death two years afterward, universally detested. His estate proved to be large, but was heavily reduced by judgments for various persons he had defrauded; and in the end his heirs derived little benefit from the ignoble wealth accumulated by bribery, theft, and speculation.

Sothel
forced to
flee

Death

The proprietaries now declared void all acts passed during Sothel's administration, including that for Colleton's disability; and did what they could to restore normal conditions. They decided also to unite the Carolinas, and appointed Colonel Philip Ludwell of Virginia governor of the joint province, with the capital at Charlestown. Ludwell was then in England representing the Virginians in complaints against Lord Effingham. To strengthen his hands, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, late governor of the Leeward Islands, was requested to accompany him, and to identify him with the

Ludwell
made
governor

1693-4

Na-
thaniel
Johnson

government he was appointed cacique and member of the Council. Johnson subsequently became governor of South Carolina, and in 1703 introduced the culture of silk. Three years later, when the French assailed the colony, he led the English forces with such daring and energy that the baffled invaders lost their commander and three hundred men.

Lud-
well's
amnesty
and good
measuresIn
trouble
over
Hugue-
not fran-
chise

Ludwell was instructed to publish a general pardon for all past offenses, that he might begin his administration with general good-will. He was likewise to inquire into all causes of complaint, and report the measures he judged best for the restoration of order and contentment. Possessing both conscience and humanity, he faithfully complied, and his administration began most auspiciously. But his honorable sense of justice soon brought him into conflict with the native English colonists. By his instructions and desire, he contended that there should be no distinction in rights on account of nationality or religion; and proposed to admit the French refugees to all immunities enjoyed by other planters, enfranchising all colonists as British subjects. But the English portion objected strenuously. The French Huguenots were not then permitted to take part in the government; and the English colonists insisted that it was contrary to the laws of England, and therefore beyond the jurisdiction of the proprietaries, to make subjects of aliens. No power but the English parliament, they asserted, could remove aliens' disabilities. To

strengthen their case, they even tried to illegitimize the refugees' marriages because their ministers had not received Episcopal ordination—though this might have been a boomerang to themselves. Finally, they declared that they would not sit in the same assembly with Frenchmen, rivals of the English nation and political slaves in their home government. National jealousy was at the bottom of the whole matter.

Passions became so hot that the refugees grew alarmed for their personal safety, and appealed for protection to the proprietaries; who returned a friendly and conciliatory answer, that in the end proved the wisest thing they could have done. They promised the amplest protection; but hoped that all the colonists would dwell together in harmony, and unite in building up their common country. Meanwhile Ludwell wisely suspended his efforts, and allowed the excitement to abate. A more friendly spirit began to prevail, and within a few years naturalization was freely granted to the French, by the very colonists who had so bitterly opposed it. The fact was that amalgamation by marriage had already begun, and rapidly went on until all became one people.

But Ludwell ventured upon another reform which cost him a much larger measure of popularity. A ship's company of buccaneers, having made a rich haul on the Spanish Main, sailed into Charlestown harbor to dispose of their spoil. They appeared in roistering crowds on the streets, paying liberally for whatever caught their fancy,

1693-4

Uproar
over giving civil
rights to
French

Proprietaries
smooth
matters
over

French
become
English

Pirates
in the
open

1694

Charleston
makes
holiday
for
pirates

and pouring out their golden doubloons like water. It was a great occasion for the colonists; and every tradesman put forth his best efforts to please the picturesque rovers and secure a portion of their patronage. Some of the pirates had relatives in town, and all were treated like distinguished visitors rather than outlaws.

Who are
tried and
acquitted

Such open flouting of both law and decency angered Ludwell, as it ought; and he ordered the buccaneers arrested and placed on trial. But the proceedings were a farce: the whole company went scot-free, and as they came out of the court-house they were greeted with the approving shouts of the gathered populace. Not only so, but the government of the province was sued to indemnify them for false accusation and their expenses! Nor was this the end: the people had once more taken the reins into their own hands, and Ludwell became nothing but a figure-head. They used him when his official sanction was necessary, and ignored him on all other occasions. Piracy took a new lease of life. The buccaneers who had come off so easily spread the news among their fellows, and Charlestown again became a harbor of refuge for them. For more than twenty years thereafter they felt free to come and go as they pleased.

Piracy
flourishes
anew

Ludwell
out of
favor

Ludwell gained nothing in good-will or reputation when he made a final but ineffectual effort to collect the delinquent quit-rents. He had now irrevocably forfeited his standing, both with the people and the proprietaries: with the one for acting against their sympathies, with the other for

not making the action effective. He was replaced by Thomas Smith, a wealthy planter who had been created a landgrave. Smith was a just, prudent, and popular man; but he was equally unable to control so turbulent a population, because their desires were incompatible with fundamental right and order, and within less than a year was superseded at his own request. He was the author of two important events during his short administration, however, each of which give it a large measure of distinction.

1694-5

Thomas
Smith's
governor-
ship

Short
but
eventful

In the first place, he advised the proprietaries to abandon the folly of retaining Locke's "grand frame," which had never been regarded as essential working machinery of the government, while it was a perpetual source of irritation and a fruitful cause of disorder. It might be made to work in a populous country with a settled society, but not in the wildwoods of America. They accepted his conclusions; not without some pangs of regret, for the "grand frame" had been their favorite from the outset, but it had been tried and found wanting. They accordingly adopted this resolution: "That, as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request." And thus perished the last vestige of the legislative effort of John Locke. The parliament became an Assembly; the only appreciable change in the form of government, as the "fundamental

The
"grand
frame"
given up

1694
et seq.

constitutions" had never been used. The fantastic titles of nobility continued to drag on for a few years longer, their chief regard being the great landed estates they had brought the bearers.

Rice in-
troduced

Smith's second important act, while it then appeared of small concern, proved in the end of vast consideration to the Carolinas. In 1694 a British ship touched at Charlestown on its way home from Madagascar, and the captain became the Governor's guest. During his stay he mentioned having on board some sacks of rice, which it was suggested might be suited to the climate and soil of South Carolina. The Governor agreed to try the experiment if the captain would furnish the seed, which was readily granted. Some of it was sown in the Governor's garden, not many years later one of the thickly built sections of Charlestown; other portions were given to other careful planters; and of each the product was surprisingly large. These experiments were continued on a larger scale; and before long the fact was established that South Carolina would produce along its rivers and on its lowlands "valuable quantities of rice, the best of the known world," as a writer of that era expressed it. In a few years the cereal became one of its great staples, and was gradually extended to other sections of the South.

At length a South Carolina planter, observing a number of extra long grains in a head of rice, carefully selected and planted them; and thus obtained the variety known as the "long grain," greatly prized for export.

"Long
grain"

When Smith grew “uneasy in the government, by reason that he could not satisfy the people in their demands,” and asked to be relieved, he warned the proprietaries that it was useless any longer to attempt governing by deputy. “It is impossible,” he said, “to settle the country, except a proprietor himself be sent over with full power to heal their grievances”—some strong-willed but fair-minded man, interested in the country; peace and prosperity could not be secured until this was done. The proprietaries acknowledged the wisdom of the advice, and decided to act upon it. For governor they selected the best-known man in their board—Lord Ashley, grandson of Shaftesbury, and subsequently an author of some note; it was supposed that his title, his talents, and his agreeable manners would have a powerful influence in pacifying the colonists. His acceptance was hailed with delight, but he soon discovered that his affairs would not admit of his absence; and another proprietary, John Archdale, was appointed in his stead.

Archdale was a Quaker who had bought out an older proprietary, and was justly regarded as a man of broad views and superior judgment. He proved to be a most estimable man, sagacious, prudent, and endowed with admirable patience and command of temper. He had been granted powers so sweeping that his commission itself bore the cautionary statement that it should not be construed as a precedent. The proprietaries wished to give him a free hand, but not by implication

1695

Government by deputies abolished

Archdale governor

1695-6

Arch-
dale's
success

to seem as having permanently surrendered their authority. Their trust was not abused. Archdale seems to have been a man of Penn's fashion. He was probably no better qualified for the position, and no more sincere in meaning to act for the colony's good, than Smith or Ludwell or even Moreton; but he had power to act instantly in all governmental measures, without being left in the air by having to refer everything to the proprietaries, while the people did as they liked. Both the Carolinas were under his jurisdiction. He arrived at Charlestown in August 1695; and at once "every faction applied themselves, in hopes of relief." He appeased them, according to his own statement, "with kind and gentle words," and immediately set himself to study what was needed for the best interests of the people; other governors had done so and acted on it, but the people did not wish their best interest. By remitting some of the arrears of quit-rents, however, and by other conciliatory measures, aided by mild composure and immovable firmness, he soon gained a strong hold upon the affections and confidence of the people.

Judicious
law on
Quakers

Although Archdale was a sincere Quaker, he recognized the necessity of defensive measures in a colony surrounded by savages and exposed to Spanish attack. He therefore urged and secured the passage of an adequate militia law; it exempted all who would not bear arms from conscientious scruples, but prevented "malingering" by a wise safeguard—the requirement of a certificate from

the Governor. "And whereas," it stated, "there be several inhabitants called Quakers, who, upon a conscientious principle of religion, cannot bear arms, and because in all other civil matters they have been persons obedient to the government, and ever ready to disburse their moneys in other necessary and public duties; Be it therefore enacted, that all such whom the present governor, John Archdale, Esq., shall judge that they refuse to bear arms on a conscientious principle of religion only, shall by a certificate from him, be excused." It was an extraordinary manifestation of confidence in Archdale's integrity, which the people never had any cause to regret.

1695-6

Archdale
sole
judge of
Quaker
sincerity

But he was far more desirous of maintaining peace than of securing the means of victory; he consequently made amicable overtures, not only to the Spaniards at St. Augustine, but also to the savage tribes around. On the former he urged his government's desire for peace so candidly that he completely won the respect and acquiescence of the Spanish commandant. The source of danger removed, he turned his attention more diligently than ever to cultivating peaceful relations with the Indians, and in this respect he was also eminently successful. All the Carolina tribes acknowledged allegiance to the British empire, and placed themselves under the protection of the provincial government. Archdale had won a memorable victory, for their animosity was of long standing and largely just grounds. The peace with them had another happy effect for the time.

Makes
peace
with
Span-
iards

And
Indians

1695-6

Indian
truce

The savages about Cape Fear had for many years pursued the practice of plundering shipwrecked vessels, and killing or torturing such of their crews as escaped; they now renounced it, and agreed in future to assist in preserving vessels and crews—which they are said to have faithfully done until white injustice loosed again the usual atrocities of savage warfare.

Archdale
in North
Carolina

Archdale's success in the northern province was fully as great as in the southern; in some respects even more so, there being a larger proportion of Quakers, who gave him the full benefit of their sympathy and influence. He was so pleased with the surroundings, and the happy and prosperous condition of the inhabitants, that he purchased an estate in the Albemarle district, and his daughter was married there to a planter of Pasquotank. It was not his purpose, however, to remain longer in the Carolinas than necessary to adjust existing controversies; and having accomplished this in much larger degree than the most sanguine had supposed possible, he appointed as his successor (an authority conferred by his commission) Joseph Blake, a nephew of the English admiral, and sailed for home near the close of 1696. The choice was highly judicious: Blake proved to be a wise and efficient executive. On the eve of Archdale's departure, he found another opportunity to confer harmony and lasting good on the colonists. The Huguenots had not yet been enfranchised; and he pointed out this injustice and impolicy so earnestly, and so strong a hold had he secured upon

Leaves
Blake as
successorAdvises
Hugue-
not fran-
chise

the esteem of the citizens, that they acted upon his advice soon after, and fully enfranchised all white inhabitants without regard to nationality. Thus disappeared forever one of the great causes of discontent, by uniting all the colonists in common interest and purpose.

1696-
1707

Fran-
chise
made
general

At the close of the seventeenth century there were but three edifices for divine worship in the southern province, all situated in Charlestown, accommodating respectively Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Quakers. The first efforts to establish other places of worship were made in 1702, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, through the agency of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This was opposed by the majority, from dislike of the Church of England; but six Episcopal ministers had established themselves by 1707, and 2000 volumes had been distributed gratuitously by the society.

Religious
interests
in South
Carolina

In North Carolina there was no religious organization or church edifice of any kind until 1705, when the first was erected, and another the year following. In 1702 the Assembly had laid an assessment of \$150 per annum on each precinct, for the support of a minister; but the measure was unpopular and not rigidly enforced. There was very little desire for any church, and a very great objection to an established one.

In North
Carolina

Governor Blake was himself a Dissenter, who had inherited a considerable fortune from his father and spent nearly the whole of it in bringing Protestants to the Carolinas, fearing a Catholic

1696-1701
 Blake's
 adminis-
 tration

successor to Charles II., and the attempt to re-convert England which actually took place. His companies were of exceptionally high character; this and his great family connection were the chief causes of his appointment. He administered the affairs of Carolina excellently for four years, exerting himself to promote religious and intellectual interests irrespective of sect or denomination; and died universally lamented in 1700.

Moore's

James Moore the elder became governor in 1700, after Blake's death. He does not appear to have been noted for anything in particular except subserviency to the church party, and being the father of ten children, two of whom at least won fame. With him began the era of persecution: a number of exasperating laws against Catholics and Dissenters were enacted, resulting in acrimonious disputes which eventually involved the Spaniards of St. Augustine, through their interest in the outlying villages of Catholic Indians affected, and whom Spanish emissaries had no difficulty in inciting to undertake retaliatory raids upon the English settlements.

Persecut-
 ing zeal

The whole country was aroused, and during Moore's second year an expedition was organized to punish the Spaniards for these intrigues and reduce St. Augustine. The people were united in their ambition. A large land and naval force was quickly organized, and the command given to the governor's son James. The movement was well conceived and daringly executed,—St. Augustine was quickly captured and ravaged; but the citadel

Expedi-
 tion
 against
 St. Au-
 gustine

held out and refused to surrender. To batter down this stronghold, Moore sent a ship to Jamaica with a request for heavy artillery; but before its arrival two Spanish war-ships appeared in the harbor, and the panic-stricken colonials abandoned all they had gained, left their ships a prey to the Spaniards, and retreated overland to Charlestown. It was a disastrous and humiliating termination to an otherwise brilliant affair; but the general good management displayed by Moore gained him the admiration of the people, and led to his further advancement.

1701

Failure
before St.
Augustine

The expedition entailed on South Carolina a burdensome debt of more than \$30,000, in settlement of which bills of credit were issued. Thus South Carolina's first experience in war had gained for her a doubtful share of military glory and an excess of paper money.

Public
debt

The Spaniards, now thoroughly aroused and vindictive, were more active than ever in inciting the passions of the Appalachians. The villages of this people extended in an almost unbroken line from St. Augustine to Appalachee Bay, on the southwest coast of Florida. They were considerably advanced in civilization, owning large herds of horses, cattle, and swine, and living in better houses than the average European. They were Catholics, religious as well as natural enemies of the English; and every village had a resident priest, who led their war bands and directed their operations. In the frequent disparaging contrast of Protestant with Catholic mission efforts among

Span-
iards
incite
Indians

1701

the Indians, these differences in motive, teaching, and action are carefully ignored.

Moore
marches
against
the Appa-
lachians

The danger from so powerful a tribe was constant and harassing; and it was determined to teach them a lesson they would not soon forget. A force of fifty volunteers was organized, and placed under command of James Moore; this little company was joined by more than one thousand savage allies, traditional enemies of the Appalachians; and the whole command marched rapidly over the trading-paths to the Indian villages near St. Mark's, Florida, so stealthily that the first intimation of their approach received by the Appalachians was the crack of the guns. At sunrise on the morning of December 14, 1701, they reached the strong village of Ayavalla and made a rush against the palisaded fort. Driven back with loss, they set fire to the adjoining church, and consumed it amid the pleadings of the barefooted priest in charge. The Appalachians, fearing that their fort would take fire, fled from it in dismay; many were killed in their flight, and scalped. The fort and village were destroyed, and more than fifty warriors and one hundred women and children were taken prisoners and reserved for the slave market. The following morning, the commandant at the bay appeared at the head of twenty-three soldiers and four hundred Indians, and gave battle; but was defeated with heavy loss, and the remnant fled back to the bay in consternation.

Great
slaugh-
ter and
capture

Spanish
reinforce-
ment de-
feated

The savages were thoroughly cowed; their head chief Ivitachma came leading a delegation

of sachems, and begged for peace, which he purchased with the plate of his own church and ten horses laden with provisions. Five other towns submitted unconditionally, and most of their inhabitants were removed as free emigrants to South Carolina. The Appalachians are said to have been reduced in this campaign from a nation of more than seven thousand people to less than four hundred; but this must count the removals as losses, and include only those left in their old seats. As a tribe they were extinguished: a small remnant was subsequently incorporated with the Choctaws, and a few more collected in a Spanish settlement called St. Louis, near Mobile. Quick and terrible had been the retribution for being made a political instrument of the Spaniards, whose missionary priests were slain in cold blood as their inciters. The allies, burdened with the spoils of victory, and followed by a train of miserable captives, marched back in triumph to the settlements.

1601-3

Extirpa-
tion of
Appala-
chians

Governor Moore, as well as Sir Nathaniel Johnson who succeeded him in 1703, proved willing tools of the proprietaries in forcing conformity on the Carolinas. Lord Granville was now Palatine, and the proprietaries left the affairs of the two provinces almost entirely to him. His spirit is significantly shown by his action in England. English officials were required to subscribe to the tenets of the Established Church; but Dissenters need do this only while in office, returning to their own faith on leaving it. Granville vainly endeavored to force a bill through Parliament imposing

Gran-
ville's
persecut-
ing
bigotry

1703-6 heavy penalties on any person who had once conformed and held office, and who ever thereafter attended a place of dissenting worship. Despite the large preponderance of Dissenters in the Carolinas, Granville and his lieutenants, by a long series of illegal and violent proceedings, secured a complete ascendancy in the Assemblies, and used it to pass laws for the supremacy of the Church of England. The climax was reached in 1704, when one law deprived Dissenters of all civil rights, and another established an ecclesiastical court of high commission. The latter name was of evil import to all liberal Englishmen, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel refused to send any more missionaries to the Carolinas until the law was repealed. Both acts, however, received the sanction of the proprietaries, by whom they had been inspired, and the protests of the Dissenters were treated with derision.

Granville
tramples
down Dis-
senter's

Upheld
by other
proprie-
tors

Appeal to
Lords
and
Queen

These performances so disturbed trade relations with the colonies, that the London merchants who had connections **there** advised the outraged Dissenters to appeal to the supreme law of the realm; which they accordingly did. A petition was laid before the House of Lords; a curious place to look for liberalism, yet which evidently had common-sense and no persecuting zeal. An appeal was at once addressed to Queen Anne, praying her abrogation of the obnoxious laws, and recommending that their authors be brought to condign punishment. She referred it to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, who reported "that the

The Contents of an Act lately pass'd in Carolina, and sent over to be confirm'd here by the Lord Granville, Palatine, and the rest of the Lord Proprietors of the said Colony; which would be highly prejudicial to Her Majesty's Interests, destructive to that Colony, discouraging to Trade, and a dangerous Precedent to the other Plantations: As may appear by the Act itself, and four Queries thereupon.

An Act for the more effectual Preservation of the Government of this Province, by requiring all Persons that shall hereafter be chosen Members of the Commons House of Assembly, and sit in the same, to take the Oath, and subscribe the Declaration appointed by this Act, and to conform to the Religious Worship in this Province, according to the Church of England: and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Usage of the said Church.

Nothing is more contrary to the Profession of the Christian Religion, and particularly to the Doctrine of the Church of England, than Persecution for Conscience only, *Nevertheless,*

Whereas it hath been found by Experience, that the Adjoining of Persons of different Perswasions and Interest in Matters of Religion, to sit and vote in the Commons House of Assembly, hath often caused great Contentions and Animosities in this Province, and hath very much

A

ob-

making of such laws was an abuse of the power granted them by the charter, and incurred a forfeiture of the same." They also added the remarkable statement that the laws were "an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tended to ruin and depopulate the provinces"; and advised immediate steps to secure the forfeiture of the charter and a resumption of the government to the Crown.

The Queen thereupon issued an order declaring all the laws complained of null and void, and promised to institute *quo warranto* proceedings for the annulment of the charter. But the proprietary interests were too strong: a legal quibble, so diaphanous as to show that it was eagerly hailed as a pretext, was allowed to save the charter—to wit, that some of the heirs to these interests were minors, who should not be held responsible for the wrongful acts of their elders! The proprietaries, however, were quite evidently warned to mend their ways or such a defense would not save them again. Granville's policy was brought to an end in 1706; but the Dissenters received only a bare toleration instead of full equality of worship. The following year the South Carolina Assembly established the Church of England; and divided the provinces into ten parishes, with provision for building a church and paying of a clergyman in each. The churches were soon built, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel supplied the ministers. The Dissenters maintained independent churches, and

1706

Lords of
Trade
denounce
Carolina
persecu-
tion

Grudging
tolera-
tion
granted

Religious
double
taxation

1706 paid church taxes also. This state of affairs continued, under more or less exasperating conditions, until the Revolution.

French
attack on
Charleston

In 1706, towards the close of Johnson's administration, and during the War of the Spanish Succession, a French squadron consisting of a frigate and four smaller vessels made a descent on Charlestown. It was partly manned by Spaniards; France and Spain being allied, and the King of Spain (Philip V.) a grandson of Louis XIV. The colonists, though divided by religious faction, were united by a common racial and religious danger; and their efforts were wisely directed by the Governor himself. His preparations were prompt and vigorous: a fort was constructed on James Island in Charlestown harbor, and named Fort Johnson; the beginning of a fortification which still endures. Redoubts were thrown up at the southern point of the city, now known as South Battery; and a corps of observation was stationed on Sullivan's Island, to give by signal fires early notice of hostile approach. Six merchant vessels in the harbor were armed and manned, and placed under command of the gallant William Rhett. All the militia of the province were placed in readiness for immediate service, and supplemented by bands of friendly Indians. The Huguenots organized a battalion of veterans, and begged to be led wherever there was fighting to be done.

Johnson's
defense

In due course the fleet came into the harbor, commanded by a veteran officer named Le Febvre,

who promptly demanded the surrender of city and fortifications. The message was treated with defiance, and the messenger subjected to a trick: he was blindfolded and led from point to point, each time to find himself confronted by what seemed a new and well-appointed military company—a single company in fact being marched to the various points. He is said to have had so poor an eye for faces as to report that the English works were manned by several regiments; but this probably represents the sanguine hopes of the contrivers—most likely he suspected the ruse, for Le Febvre did not swallow the hoax for an instant, and opened fire with the greatest fury. Landing parties were sent to storm the works; but they were met by a withering fire wherever they attempted to approach the shore. Johnson handled his men with admirable skill, and what he lacked in numbers he made up in tactics.

The Huguenots especially fought with a fury long remembered: past wrongs nerved their arms to deeds of wonderful gallantry. Rhett also did his part: he fought his little fleet of merchantmen as if they had been men-of-war, and boldly attacked the French ships at close quarters. Among his men were a number of old pirates and buccaneers, who understood the art of boarding, and swarmed over the sides of the French vessels with dirk and cutlass in hand. Out of eight hundred men, the French lost three hundred in killed and prisoners; very few were wounded, for the fight was to the death. This dreadful destruction

1706

French
demand
surrender
of
Charleston

Attempt-
ed storm

Rhett's
tremendous
on-
slaught

1706

Splendid
victory
over
French at
Charles-
ton

appalled Le Febvre, who hastily withdrew to prevent the loss of his entire command. After his departure, a reinforcing French war-ship with ninety men came into the harbor, not knowing what had taken place, and was captured. The victory of the colonists was complete and decisive; and thereafter the South-Carolinians extended their borders southward indefinitely, boldly trenching on the possessions of the Spaniards.

North
Carolina
freedom
from
control

And
religion

Estab-
lishment
of Angli-
can
church

Meanwhile affairs in North Carolina had remained in a satisfactory state. Very few slaves had been imported into that province, and the white population enjoyed conditions of almost boundless liberality. No laws respecting religion had yet been enacted; not so creditably, there was no church or minister of any sort in the province. These conditions did not suit the government—the latter ought not to have suited the people; the former now made an attempt to establish the Church of England—as if the results in South Carolina were not enough. A vigorous campaign was instituted. Writers were employed to denounce the people as a crew of evil-disposed Quakers, Deists, and Atheists, to which the absence of all worship of any kind lent credit. An act was forced through the local legislature requiring of every place-holder an oath acknowledging the supremacy of the Established Church. Houses of worship were erected at public expense, and the Dissenters were discouraged by various means.

Of course manifestations of discontent similar to those in South Carolina soon began to appear.

Opposition to the Church ceremonies was determined and bitter; its authorities accused the Quakers of fomenting discord in Carolina and spreading anarchistical principles in Virginia. These conditions continued for several years; the colony was almost in civil war. It was governed by deputies appointed from Charlestown, and subservient to the governor's will. At length the colonists elected their own government and an independent Assembly, and ceased to recognize the acts of the legally constituted government. Two bodies, both claiming authority, were seeking to rule at the same time.

1694-
1722

Reli-
gious
feud in
North
Carolina

Which
throws
off com-
mon gov-
ernment

The northern province had lost a considerable part of its population during the confusions of Culpeper's insurrection and Sothel's tyranny; so that in 1694 the list of taxable inhabitants contained less than eight hundred names. But the peaceful years that followed brought large accessions, including a body of German refugees from Virginia, and a colony of Germans many years before expelled from their homes by the desolation of the Palatinate. A company of Swiss also established themselves at New Berne (Newbern) on the southwest bank of the Neuse. By this time the population had increased to more than six thousand, of whom two thousand were taxables. But there was no court-house or state building in North Carolina until 1722, the previous Assemblies and general courts being convened in private houses. No printing-office existed in either province, and the laws were published by oral proclamation.

Partial
depopu-
lation
and
repopu-
lation

Back-
wardness

1704
et seq.

Debts and rents were made payable in hides, tallow, furs, tobacco, and other native products.

Marriage
laws

As part of the scheme to force an establishment of religion in North Carolina, it was enacted in 1705 that marriages should be celebrated by ministers, save in parishes without any, where magistrates could perform the duty (there was but one clergyman in the province at that time). This, however, was a judicious measure, to which no objection was urged, for great irregularity had prevailed; and while no disorder had arisen, it was admitted by all that there should be a decent observance of this basis of civilization, for society's sake and above all for women's protection.

John-
son's
religious
bigotry

Sir Nathaniel Johnson was a trained soldier and a good fighter; but he was an extreme religious zealot and martinet, as unteachable by experience as a Bourbon or his chief Lord Granville. Regarding his management in North Carolina, John Archdale, the former Quaker governor, wrote that he "by a Chimical Wit, Zeal and Art, transmuted or turn'd this Civil Difference into a Religious Controversy." Under the Governor's influence, the Assembly banned from all civil rights and subjected to imprisonment for three years any one who blasphemed the Trinity or questioned the divine inspiration of the Bible. The law remained a dead letter. Another was then enacted—it was said, by a single vote, and that illegally obtained—requiring each member of the Assembly to conform to the Church ritual and partake of the Lord's Supper in conformity with it.

Dissent-
ing
repre-
senta-
tives
banned

This placed the government in the hands of the Church party, though the Dissenters were largely in the majority. They deputed one of their party—John Ashe—to visit England and represent their grievances to the proprietaries; the authorities, learning of the mission, set spies on his track; and it was with difficulty he escaped to Virginia, and sailed thence to England. But his errand was fruitless: Granville was Palatine and head of the board. Archdale pleaded for the rights of the colonists; but Granville cut him short by exclaiming, “Sir, you are of one opinion, I am of another; our lives may not be long enough to end this controversy. I am for the bills, and this is the party I will head and support.”

The Governor was assured that the Lords Proprietaries heartily approved of the “unwearied and steady zeal” with which he had prosecuted a “great and pious work for the honor and worship of Almighty God”; and the efforts of the Church party were redoubled. Parishes were laid out, and churches built and supplied with ministers. The Dissenters were compelled not only to support the church they disliked, but to attend its worship or be denied the rights of citizens. The maintenance of these rights had constituted the principal effort of the colonists; they were now compelled to fight for the privilege of remaining out of the parish church. The situation was critical, and a new agent—Joseph Boone—was sent to England; he carried the cause straight to the House of Lords. They condemned the laws in the most positive

1704-5

Dissent-
ers
appeal to
proprie-
taries

Scouted
by them

Appeal to
House of
Lords

1704-5

Strug-
gles
for Dis-
senter's
rights

terms, and referred the matter to the Queen, who declared them null and void, as already told. Granville died a few months after, and better conditions prevailed for a while; but peace was not fully restored until after the province had become a royal colony. Much of the misgovernment was due to the original proprietaries being now all dead or withdrawn, and their shares bought as speculation or taken over for debt by outsiders with either too few or too many ideals.

And of
church
factions
over
governor-
shipProvince
rent by
insurrec-
tion

Matters went from bad to worse, until in 1705 insurrection occurred in North Carolina. Thomas Cary had been commissioned to fill the vacant office of deputy-governor; but the proprietaries objected, because formerly while their collector he had pocketed much of the receipts. By their authority the other deputies chose William Glover instead. Glover was a Churchman, and the province was instantly rent by contending factions. On the deputies' side were the proprietaries and their influence, the Churchmen and the royalists; on the other were the Quakers, the Dissenters, and a majority of the people, called by the aristocratic side "a rabble of profligate persons." Cary and his party submitted for a while; but in 1706 they demanded their rights, and "easily trod the government of the proprietaries under foot." From this time until 1710 each party chose its own governor and Assembly, as heretofore related: civil disunion if not civil war resulted.

At length, in 1711, Edward Hyde was dispatched from England to restore order, bearing

letters of recommendation from the proprietaries. He was to obtain his commission from Governor Tynte, of South Carolina, for regularity's sake; but the Governor had fallen a victim to the climate before his arrival, and he could present no other authority than his letters. He being of the Church faction, they were scouted by the other North-Carolinians; "the respect due his birth could avail nothing on that mutinous people." He established himself on the Chowan, gathered a band of followers, and called an Assembly. Thereupon the liberal party prepared for war, fortified Cary's house, procured two armed vessels, and attacked the Chowan establishment. Hyde beat them off for a time, and called on Governor Spotswood of Virginia for relief. That veteran was sorely perplexed by the conflict between good sense and duty to his sovereign; but his sympathies with the Churchmen prevailed. He declared that he could not esteem a country safe which had in it "such dangerous incendiaries" as the Quakers and the Nonconformists; and he believed that unless measures were adopted "to discourage the mutinous spirits, who had become so audacious, it would prove a dangerous example to the rest of his Majesty's plantations."

But Spotswood had no regular troops, and the Virginia militia had too many friends, relatives, and co-religionists in North Carolina to make it a safe venture to take them there. The border settlements were "stocked with Quakers," or at least with "the articles of those people." At length

1711-12

Hyde
depu-
tized
from
EnglandAttacked
by Cary
partySpots-
wood
asked for
help

1712-4

Spots-
wood's
soldiers
oust
Cary's
govern-
ment

Spotswood overcame the difficulty by sending a party of marines from the guard-ships. On their approach Cary and his men withdrew into Virginia, where they boldly appealed to England. Spotswood, honestly anxious to do justice, and embarrassed by their presence, advised them to proceed thither on some war-ships about to sail, offering to furnish them passage free. Cary and a portion of his followers accepted the terms and departed, while the remainder returned to North Carolina.

Whose
leaders
go to
England

Result of
mission

What resulted from the mission is not definitely known. A general pardon was soon afterward published, embracing all except half a dozen or so of the leaders; and even these seem to have escaped punishment. Cary was back in North Carolina at least by 1714, when he went on a visit to the West Indies. The records have little to say further about the disturbances, and we may assume that the vanquished majority were sulkily acquiescent. The government, taught sense, relaxed its intolerance somewhat. Dissenting churches were allowed to exercise their functions under certain restrictions, and the affirmation of a Quaker was accepted in place of his oath. Still, both Church authorities and people were as determined as ever in their separate courses. The Assembly, in obedience to the popular decree, "refused to make provision for defending any part of their country," unless "they could introduce into the government the persons most obnoxious for the late rebellion."

Grudging
conces-
sions

Meantime the formidable Tuscarora Indians had organized a conspiracy to exterminate the whites in North Carolina. They could muster twelve hundred warriors, and being related to the Five Nations, might be aided by Iroquois volunteers; so that the whites would not consciously have provoked a contest. But both the necessary occupation of land for settlement, and the old kidnapping and enslaving iniquities, forced the Indians into it. Lands had been surveyed along the Neuse for the Palatine settlers—principally fugitives from the Rhine and the Neckar, under Baron De Graffenried of Berne, Switzerland—by John Lawson the historian, surveyor-general for the proprietaries. The Tuscaroras fancied their whole country was to be taken from them, and considered Lawson mainly responsible. Many of them also had been enslaved and compelled to labor as menials; others were employed as servants and domestics at merely nominal wages, and both classes were often grossly ill-used. Such conditions exasperated the proud Tuscaroras, themselves conquerors and lords of the inferior tribes around. A wide-spread league was organized, embracing nearly all the eastern tribes of the province, including the Indian slaves and domestics, to effect a general massacre in September 1711; of course kept rigidly secret. A portion of the tribe under the chief Blunt, however, refused to take part in it, though they would not betray it.

A few weeks before the appointed time, Lawson and De Graffenried unsuspectingly set out to

1711

Great
Tusca-
rora con-
spiracy

Causes

Plans

1711

Seizure
of Law-
son and
De Graf-
fenried

Lawson
tortured
to death

De Graf-
fenried
released

Settle-
ments
ravaged

explore the Neuse, for its navigability and bordering soil. On entering the Indian country they were seized and carried prisoners to the nearest Tuscarora village; a council of chiefs from the neighboring towns was assembled to try them, and they were condemned to death by torture. The fire was kindled, and a circle drawn around the prisoners and strewn with flowers; back of the circled chiefs the young warriors danced in gay costumes of feathers and paint, while behind them the women and children looked on at the fête. But justice or prudence stayed the sacrifice for a rehearing; the grand council assembled anew, and once more discussed the charges while the fires were burning. Lawson, who had his compass with him, was denounced as "the man who sold our land," and his fate was sealed; but De Graffenried was set free. Lawson was accordingly subjected to the hideous tortures he had so graphically described in his own history. De Graffenried, after a captivity of five weeks, was permitted to return on foot to the settlements, having solemnly promised that his people should occupy no more lands without consent of the Indians; it is said also representing himself as king of a distant tribe which had no connection with the English, and at any rate they treated him during his detention rather as an honored guest than a prisoner.

But on his return he found only a desolated country and smoking ruins. While the Indians were balancing the prisoners' fate, they had sent off war parties to wreak vengeance on the invaders

as a whole. The heaviest blow had fallen upon the scattered settlements of the Roanoke and Pamlico. On the Roanoke alone one hundred and thirty-seven white settlers were killed outright, while others were slain more at leisure or led away as victims for the stake. Along the Pamlico and in the intermediate settlements, similar scenes of death and destruction were enacted. It was one of the bloodiest, most wide-spread, and cruelest massacres ever perpetrated within the borders of our country, the rising of the kidnapped slaves and servants helping to make it thorough-going. For three days the Indians scoured the country in search of fresh victims, and then retreated to their villages to rejoice over their victory and torture the prisoners. The total number that fell was never known, for many were killed in secluded places where their bodies remained undiscovered.

The people of both provinces were aroused by these horrors. Governor Hyde appealed to Virginia for help; but the generous Spotswood, restrained by his timid advisers, could do nothing more than intercede personally with the portion of the Tuscaroras as yet quiescent. He was successful beyond his expectations, and doubtless gave the colonists more actual assistance than if he had marched an armed force to their relief: the friendly or wavering section decided not to join their triumphant brethren, and so saved a still more fearful destruction. The Assembly of South Carolina promptly voted relief and succor for their stricken neighbors of the north; but the

1711

Frightful
massacre
by Tusca-
roras

Spots-
wood
keeps
some
from
joining

South
Carolina
sends
help

1711-12 long-standing dissensions among the latter, with the benumbing horrors of the massacre, prevented much concert of action there.

The massacre had taken place September 22-5; by the end of October a force of six hundred militia had been organized in South Carolina, to which were added numerous bands of friendly Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Yemassees. The whole was placed under command of Colonel John Barnwell (known afterward for many years as "Tuscarora John"), and pushed out into the wilderness. It was joined in North Carolina by a small party organized by Governor Hyde. January 28, 1712, they came upon the enemy occupying an intrenched village near the Neuse, in the upper part of Craven County, about twenty miles from New Berne. The Indians were taken completely by surprise, and stricken with panic. Three hundred were slain at the first onset; the remainder sought refuge in their rude fort, where they were besieged and finally reduced to submission.

Nearly one thousand savages were killed during the campaign; and had the people of the northern province been prepared to act in concert, the power of the hostiles would have been utterly broken. Barnwell returned home in triumph after making a treaty with the remaining Tuscaroras; but his own men violated it by carrying off a number of Indians for slaves. This had been a chief inciting cause of the war, and the massacres were at once renewed along the Neuse. The hostile Tuscaroras sought assistance from the Senecas and

Expedition
against
Tuscaroras

Important
victory

Great destruction of
Indians

Renewed kidnapping and
war

the others of the Five Nations; and while Virginia would never have let the confederacy march its hordes a thousand miles south without throwing itself athwart their path, a general Indian war even so would have been a frightful tragedy.

1711-13

Iroquois
help
sought

The North-Carolinians themselves were divided in their counsels, and more dissatisfied than ever with their government. For a while it seemed as if the province would be depopulated. So many of the remaining inhabitants fled from the horrors of Indian warfare and the tyranny of the hierarchy, that the subservient Assembly passed a bill prohibiting any one from leaving the colony without a permit from the governor. Of course the silly order was totally disregarded. The outflow continued, and was still further accelerated in the fall by a virulent epidemic of yellow fever. It seemed as if the plagues of Egypt were being turned loose upon this formerly happy region. Governor Hyde himself fell a victim, and Colonel Pollock, a man of energy and intrepidity, was appointed to fill his place.

Devasta-
tion of
North
Carolina

Meantime extensive preparations were made to meet the anticipated Indian war. Toward the end of 1712, a small party of white men with a large auxiliary force of friendly Indians, all under command of Colonel James Moore,—accompanied by his younger brother Maurice, who also won fame as an Indian-fighter,—arrived in North Carolina from the southern province. Several battles and skirmishes were fought between the Neuse and the Pamlico; and the Indians fled to

South
Carolina
once
more
assails
Tusca-
roras

1712
et seq.

Final
ruin of
the Tus-
caroras

Fate of
the rem-
nants

Revival
of North
Carolina

their fort Nahucke, the site of the present Snow Hill, in Green County. That region was then on the distant frontier, beyond all white settlement; and its advanced situation exposed the colonial force to utter destruction in case of defeat, as they could hardly reach shelter or succor. Supported by their Indian allies, the little band on March 20, 1713, assaulted the fort with such fury as to compel an unconditional surrender. More than eight hundred of the savages were captured and made slaves, and the strength and spirit of the hostiles were utterly broken. A remnant escaped and joined their kin in New York, where they were incorporated as the sixth tribe into the Iroquois confederacy; it was joined fifty-three years afterward by a considerable portion of the friendly Tuscaroras, who had remained in North Carolina. During the French and Indian War both sets sided with the English: but in the struggle for independence the whole tribe united with the Americans; and at Washington's suggestion, several of their chiefs were commissioned as officers in the Continental army.

The end of the war had come none too soon. The estimate was made a few days after the battle that there were but thirty-two barrels of meat and eight hundred bushels of corn in all North Carolina. But the peace which followed, and the freedom from fear of the most formidable tribe that had menaced the Carolinas, soon restored prosperity and brought new accessions of people. Besides the immigration from Europe and the

other English colonies, the natural increase was rapid. Early marriages and families of ten and twelve children were the rule, as frequently in the colonies. All the conditions were favorable to growth, except occasional epidemics which swept off large numbers; but as the forests were cleared and the marshes drained, such visitations became less frequent and disastrous, until by the middle of the eighteenth century the Carolinas were considered as healthy as any other section.

An idea long prevailed that the southern waters were deleterious, and an infusion of rum was necessary to counteract it; this led to much intemperance, and drunkenness was one of the first offenses the law endeavored to correct. In March 1720 the grand jury of Albemarle indicted thirty-six persons, whose misdemeanors were proportioned as follows: seven for drunkenness, eight for profane swearing, seven for breaking the Sabbath, four for adultery, five for stealing or mismarking hogs, three for breaking the peace, and two for selling liquor without license. But as population increased, bringing schools and the polite arts in its train, intemperance and profanity—twin evils of a low state of intelligence—declined in a marked degree; and the Carolinians became distinguished for cultivation of literature, elegance of manners, and universal hospitality. Lawson, who traveled through both provinces in 1700, spoke in the highest terms of the people's prevailing courtesy; but lamented their indolent carelessness, attributed to the softening effects of the climate, the ease with

1713
et seq.

North
Carolina
prolific
and
healthful

Improve-
ments in
manners,
morals,
and edu-
cation

1715 which a living could be made, and the universal prevalence of slavery.

The Yemassee

Declare
war
against
South
Carolina

Within two years after the defeat of the Tuscaroras, the South-Carolinians were called upon to defend themselves against an outbreak of their former allies the Yemassee or Savannahs, a branch of the southern or Spanish Shawnees. They were at first located in Florida; but after a relentless struggle with the Spaniards, who like the English tried to enslave them, they retired to the northeast bank of the Savannah. Here they formed an alliance with the English, and assisted them in all their wars, both against the Spaniards and other Indian tribes; until the spring of 1715, when, in imitation of their old enemies the Tuscaroras, they gave a formal declaration of war before striking, sending the "bloody stick" to all South Carolina settlements. The colonists were dismayed. None knew when the blow would fall; the Yemassee had been trained in the art of war by the English themselves, and could bring into the field a body of soldiers creditable to any considerable nation then; and they controlled a powerful alliance. Had they joined the Tuscaroras two years before, the league could hardly have been withstood by the enfeebled colony; they had prevented the great northern tribe's success, but now, enraged by the continual enslavement of their people, they took up the task alone—a disastrous mistake, as they soon learned to their cost.

An incident of peculiar interest is told in connection with this. Far out on the border, in a log

cabin furnished and surrounded with many evidences of comfort and refinement, dwelt a Scotch pioneer named Fraser and his attractive wife. Between these and a Yemassee chief named Sanute had sprung up a mutual friendship, which on the Indian's part embraced some features of romantic attachment for the beautiful white woman. As indications of trouble thickened, the three friends solemnly pledged fidelity; Sanute confirmed his oath by washing his face in water scented with certain sacred herbs, and afterwards crossed his hands upon his breast in Mrs. Fraser's presence. This was the most solemn affirmation of the Yemassees, peculiar to them.

Sanute was true to his vow. A few days before the intended outbreak, he came to the cabin in great mental distress, manifested only by the extreme gravity of his demeanor as he sat before the log fire. At length Mrs. Fraser, alarmed by his painful silence, inquired the cause. Reminding her of his oath, he told her of the intended massacre, and warned her that she and her husband must flee at once if they would escape. But should his tribe suspect him of treachery, he would suffer death with the most horrible tortures known: he therefore adjured her to disclose nothing to any one except her husband; and that they must disclose nothing even during their flight. She called her husband; he insisted on permission to warn their friends and near neighbors, but Sanute declared it would not help the others, and would only involve themselves in the universal massacre.

1715

An inter-racial friendship

The loyal Indian

1715

Sanute's
warning

His people were carefully watching every movement of the settlers, and an attempt of any considerable number to escape would precipitate the massacre. He claimed the fulfillment of their mutual obligation, by his risk in giving them warning.

The great
Yem-
assee
massacre

Realizing that he told the truth, they consented to the hard conditions, and at sunset stealthily abandoned their cabin and fled through the woods toward the coast. As they neared the sea, however, they felt absolved from their vow, and gave warning; thus all the coast settlements were saved, the people flocking to Charlestown and their fortifications. In the interior the massacre was enacted as planned, and the settlements were depopulated; more than four hundred whites were slaughtered, and their cabin homes laid in ashes.

Yem-
assees
driven
out of
Carolina

The Indians soon met the just retribution. Governor Craven organized a force consisting largely of faithful black slaves, and marched into their country. After several battles and skirmishes, the savages were defeated in a decisive engagement at Saltcatchers—probably the modern Salkahatchie—on the banks of the Combahee, and driven beyond the Savannah. They retired into Florida, were received with special friendship by the Spaniards, and encouraged in future raids on the English settlements; but these were guarded against by a line of border fortifications, while the woods were constantly patrolled by companies of rangers. The Yemassee allied themselves with the Creeks, and a remnant subsequently became

identified with the Shawnee band that moved northward to the Ohio country. From this remnant sprang the great Tecumseh, the last Indian leader who effected a great general league with hope of driving out the whites.

All that vast region of beautiful country formerly occupied by the Tuscaroras and the Yemassees, and their allied tribes, now reverted to the Carolinas, and was set aside by the proprietaries for settlement. During the infancy of the colonies they had disposed of the lands at \$4.80 for each hundred acres, and twelve cents for quit-rent. In 1694 they raised the price to \$7.20, but apparently without increase in the rent. But now, with the rich Indian lands at their disposal, they raised the prices to \$12.24. This caused great dissatisfaction among the colonists. At no time had the proprietaries afforded them any protection; they had fought their own wars against Indian and Spaniard, and paid their own expenses, and the new lands had been won by their own efforts and blood. In the last Indian wars all the colonists had united their forces, so that the dissatisfaction extended to both provinces.

After the subjugation of the savages, the South Carolina Assembly sought to regulate Indian trade so as to afford better protection to white interests; but the proprietaries refused their assent. They also disregarded an appeal for a free general election of representatives; and in various other ways goaded the people almost to insurrection. Amid these distractions Carteret commissioned Robert

1715
et seq.

Tecum-
seh a
Yem-
assee

Opening
up of
Indian
lands

Colonial
interests
thwarted
by propri-
etaries

1717-20

Johnson—son of Sir Nathaniel, and a man of considerable ability—as governor; with instructions to refer all legislation to the proprietaries, to reject or repeal if they saw fit.

Recru-
descence
of piracy

The result of this arbitrary policy at the very height of the disturbances cannot now be predicted; for the course of events was suddenly turned aside by a new excitement. The pirates, so powerful along the coast, had never ceased operations, but were more active at some periods than others. During the opening years of the new century they had vastly increased their power and the terror of their name, under the leadership of Edward Thatch (then pronounced Taich, and hence transmitted to us as Teach), popularly known as “Blackbeard”; who established a pirate colony on Providence Island, in the Bahamas, long a favorite resort of theirs. In 1717 an expedition was sent against them under Captain Woodes Rogers, the famous English navigator, who drove them from their strongholds and took possession of the island in the name of England.

Black-
beard

Pirates
infest
Carolina
waters

Thereafter the buccaneers found convenient hiding-places in the inlets and sounds of the Carolinas, whence they issued forth to prey upon the commerce of the adjacent seas. Instead of confining their depredations, as in the past, mainly to Spanish vessels, they now made themselves the terror of all legitimate trade. With their swift well-armed vessels they did not hesitate to capture merchantmen within sight of Charlestown, and in several instances they extorted heavy ransoms



BLACKBEARD.

from the government for distinguished prisoners. The region about Cape Fear became the centre of their operations, from its dangerous coasts and the numerous bays and inlets. Black-beard commanded a ship of forty guns, and directed the operations of six other vessels; a formidable squadron even for open battle, had not conscious outlawry unnerved them. His three principal captains, Vane, Worley, and Steed Bonnet, were as well known and almost as much dreaded as the pirate commander himself, and these freebooters kept Charlestown harbor in a state of almost perpetual blockade.

1717-18

Black-beard's
pirate
fleet

Governor Johnson decided to break up this gang of sea-robbers, and sent the gallant William Rhett with a war-ship to attack them wherever he found them. They had warning from their respectable allies, and Steed Bonnet awaited Rhett's approach outside the Charlestown bar; but as the man-of-war hove in sight, their courage evaporated, and spreading all sail, they fled to their station near Cape Fear. Rhett followed, made a prize of their ship, and captured thirty of the pirates, who were carried in irons to Charlestown, where twenty-nine of them were hanged. Not long afterward Worley brought his six-gun sloop up to the bar and defiantly sailed back and forth. Johnson took command of a ship in person, went out to meet the buccaneer, and a fight to the death ensued. No quarter was asked or expected; every man on board the pirate ship was shot dead at the guns except the captain and one other, and they were

Rhett
makes
prize of
BonnetJohnson
of
Worley

1718

Johnson
hangs
two
pirates

severely wounded but refused to surrender, whereupon Johnson boarded the vessel and took them off by force. Then, fearing that they might cheat justice by dying of their wounds, he hanged them immediately, and sailed back into the harbor with the ghastly trophies swinging from the yard-arms.

Black-
beard
sur-
renders

The loss of his two best ships, with their crews and his bravest captains, so alarmed Blackbeard that he resolved to avail himself of a proclamation recently issued by Governor Eden of North Carolina, offering a royal pardon to all pirates who would surrender and become honest citizens. He and twenty of his men accordingly submitted, and for a while the pirate chieftain remained on shore, living a life of pleasure on the profits of his former adventures. There he made the acquaintance of a young woman who consented to become his thirteenth wife, and he settled down to a planter's life; but he soon grew weary of its monotony, and once more took to the sea. For a while he kept technically within the law, by bringing vessels alleged to have been found derelict at sea, to be condemned by the Board of Admiralty. But he found so many derelicts that suspicion was aroused, and even Eden was justly suspected as an accomplice. Edward Mosely, a prominent colonist, declared that the Governor could raise armed forces to arrest honest men, but could not organize a force to punish Blackbeard; for which he was fined \$500 by the Council (who perhaps shared the plunder), and debarred from any position of trust for three years. Soon afterward the Governor made an

His new
secret
piracies

extended report of his dealings with the pirates, which the Council examined and approved; when he died his tombstone was made to declare that “He brought the country into a flourishing condition,” and died much lamented. 1718

It was not long until Blackbeard laid aside all pretense of honesty, and once more flew the black flag of piracy. Then, because Eden either could not or would not attempt his suppression, Spotswood of Virginia was appealed to. That energetic veteran offered a large reward for the head of the pirate captain, and sent down two armed vessels under Lieutenant Maynard, a brave and efficient young officer of the royal navy. These sailed into Pamlico River, Blackbeard’s reported station, to take him by surprise; but he was warned as usual, and prepared to resist (November 22). He had twenty-five men under his command as desperate as himself. While Maynard was manœuvring to secure a raking position, his sloop ran aground; whereupon the pirates poured in a deadly broadside, killing and disabling twenty men. Then Blackbeard, thinking the vessel at his mercy, ordered his men to board; but a surprise awaited him—Maynard had a reserve force below, and as the pirates leaped over the bulwarks were met by a deadly volley of musketry.

Blackbeard again an open pirate

Maynard’s desperate fight with him

A fight at close quarters ensued, led by the rival captains with pistols and cutlasses in hand; the pistols missing, they closed and fought with cutlasses until Blackbeard fell. The combat was short and sanguinary; of the boarding party of

Death of Blackbeard

1718-19

Maynard
extir-
pates
Black-
beard's
gang

seventeen, nine besides the captain were killed, and the other seven mortally wounded. The annals of sea fighting record but few more desperate combats. Maynard in turn now boarded the pirate ship, and made prisoners of the remainder. The commander himself seized a negro who stood at the magazine just in the act of touching a fire-brand to the powder. Maynard returned in triumph to Chesapeake Bay, with the head of the pirate captain dangling from the bowsprit of his sloop. This expedition virtually put an end to piracy. The survivors of Blackbeard's crew were hanged, and no other leader appeared bold enough to reorganize the scattered desperadoes.

South
Carolina
protests
against
its gov-
ernment

The extermination of the pirates added \$50,000 to South Carolina's debt, increasing by so much the already excessive burdens of the people. Complaints and protests became more numerous and emphatic. The conduct of Chief Justice Trott had become so intolerable that the Council, the Assembly, and the members of the bar united in demanding his removal. He had absorbed nearly all the functions of government, and his overbearing demeanor excited general disgust. Francis Yonge, a member of the Council, was sent by the Assembly as a representative to plead the colonial cause before the proprietaries; but his mission was a failure. They had no sympathetic ear for the pleadings of the people. In the dispatches they returned by Yonge, they severely criticised the Governor for his "leniency toward the rabble," and ordered him peremptorily to

enforce their prerogatives, to dissolve the Assembly, to increase the number of councillors, to prohibit any increase of representation in the Assembly, to repeal all objectionable laws, and to insist upon the prompt payment of taxes.

The people were enraged to the highest pitch; in this state the slightest incident might cause an insurrection. It came in the form of a rumored Spanish invasion. Governor Johnson convened the Assembly, and after graphically picturing the exposed state of the province, appealed for means of defense. The Assembly replied that the import duties were sufficient; but the Governor reminded them that the law had been repealed by the proprietaries. The repeal, exclaimed the members with one voice, will be disregarded; and whoever dares refuse to pay the duties will be compelled to obey the law. This was open rebellion, and Trott was profoundly shocked; he arose and announced that if any such suits were brought into court, he would decide in favor of the defendants. The issue thus sharply defined, each party awaited the outcome.

The Governor appointed a day for general inspection of the militia, and ordered out the regiments for review. The ostensible purpose was to prepare for the invasion, the real one was the subjection of the populace. The people understood, and bided their time. The Governor had made a mistake; and soon realizing the fact, he instructed Colonel Parris, commander of the militia, to countermand the order. But Parris, being on

1719

Proprietaries
denounce
the
"rabble"

Dead-
lock over
the
duties

Ill-
judged
militia
order

1719 the popular side, neglected to issue this second order.

South
Carolina
Assem-
bly
révolts

The Assembly now resolved itself into a popular convention, and declined to recognize the proprietary authority and its illegal Council. For the Governor himself they entertained the highest respect; the revolt was not against him, but against those from whom he derived his powers. They besought him to remain in office until the pleasure of the King could be known; but he refused to consider the suggestion, and in a long address set forth his reasons, explained the rights of the proprietaries, and warned the convention against the dangers of their course.

John-
son's pro-
test dis-
regarded

All these matters, however, had been considered in the beginning, and the Governor's warning went unheeded. "We beg leave to tell you," said the convention, in reply to his address, "that the paper your Honor read and delivered to us we take no notice of, nor shall we give any further answer to it but in Great Britain." But they smoothed the rough answer by asserting "that it is the greatest satisfaction imaginable to us to find throughout the whole country that universal affection, deference, and respect the inhabitants bear to your Honor's person, and with what passionate desire they wish for a continuance of your gentle and good administration," whereupon they again entreated him to continue in office "in his Majesty's name, till his pleasure shall be known."

But he is
asked to
remain
governor

But the Governor was immovable. Indeed, he had no choice, for his sole authority was from the

proprieties, and he was bound to consider their interests and wishes above everything else. However earnestly he might have desired to favor the colonists, he was bound to obey the commands of his superiors. He therefore issued a proclamation dissolving the Assembly; but that body refused to be dissolved. The members would not even permit the proclamation to be read, and directed that the paper should be torn from the hands of the marshal. They now took matters completely in their own hands, and elected a new governor—Colonel James Moore, the famous leader against the Indians, and a popular favorite.

1719

Johnson
defied
by As-
semblyMoore
made
governor

The convention selected the day appointed for the review as that for Moore's inauguration; and Charlestown was alive with gathered throngs and gay with flags—even the ships in the harbor were decked out with bunting. All the citizen soldiery of the province were assembled in the public square, armed and equipped and dressed in their gayest uniforms; and were addressed by leaders of the Assembly, who explained the condition of public affairs, and the necessity for all to act in concert if they would preserve their liberty. The soldiers answered with a shout, and nearly every male adult in the province signed the articles of association.

Militia
join
revolt

Johnson's power was left hanging in the air, with no men left to create a force with which to put down opposition; but when he rode into town that morning and saw the transformation scene, though astonished and indignant, he was

1719-21

Governor
John-
son's
vain
struggle

not in the least intimidated. He sought out some of the leading men and expostulated with them, but found no comfort; then becoming angry, he accused the officials of neglect of duty, and threatened them with punishment. They laughed in his face, pointed to the assembled militia, and inquired how he would enforce his orders. His anger became rage; and striding up to Colonel Parris, who stood in front of his ranks, the irate governor demanded how he dared appear there in disobedience of orders, and exclaimed, "Disband your men and disperse!" Parris replied that he was acting in obedience to the convention, and should remain until relieved by its orders. Johnson made a motion toward the hilt of his sword; whereupon Parris ordered the men to present arms, and notified him that he advanced another step at the peril of his life.

The Governor looked for a moment into the frowning muzzles of those loaded firelocks, and turning on his heel, walked away. His course vastly increased his popularity; in all the throngs around he saw not a single unfriendly face, yet not one that manifested any sympathy with the authority he represented. He was alone on the unpopular side, powerless and deserted; and like a sensible man, made the best of a situation he could not control.

Proprietary rule
at an end

These events took place in December 1719. At various times during the next two years Johnson vainly endeavored to reassert his authority. From that date both Carolinas became virtually royal

provinces. The end of proprietary rule was close at hand. Both parties sent representatives to London to argue their opposing causes; and the dispute having been carried into the courts, matters drifted along until a decision could be reached. Before that time arrived, Johnson during the winter of 1721 made his last and most determined effort to restore his authority. Another false alarm of Spanish invasion was made a pretext for anchoring two war-ships in Charlestown harbor. Under Johnson's orders, their captains brought their guns to bear on the town, and the ex-Governor himself took the field at the head of one hundred soldiers. But he had a man to deal with as brave and determined as himself. Moore had not been idle; and scarcely had Johnson marshaled his forces, when a squad of militia appeared and fired a few shots over the heads of his men. They fled without returning a shot; and at last Johnson realized that further resistance would be worse than useless.

Immediately afterward Sir Francis Nicholson arrived and took charge of the government as the King's representative. The proprietaries had been accused of forfeiting their charter, and *quo warranto* proceedings had been instituted to set it aside; pending decision, both provinces were placed under royal government. With the restoration of tranquillity came a new era of prosperous times. Nicholson proved a wise and discreet ruler, and soon won the confidence and esteem of the public. The old troubles ceased, political order

1720-1

South
Carolina
parties
appeal to
England

John-
son's last
effort of
force

Nichol-
son gov-
ernor ad
interim

1721-5 and peaceful private industry took the place of confusion, turbulence, and unsettlement.

Sir Francis Nicholson
The new governor looked after the mental and moral advancement of the people. At his coming there was not a single public school in the province, and the few churches had not, as a rule, gained the affections of the people. While Nicholson firmly adhered to the Establishment, he did not directly discourage the formation of dissenting congregations: a sincere believer himself, he devoutly hoped that all the people would attain religious convictions of some sort, as the only secure foundations of government. But his active encouragement was given to founding Church bodies. He laid out parishes, and appealed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to send them a better class of pastors than those existent. He was equally zealous in the encouragement of schools, and during his four years' administration accomplished some excellent results: not only did he employ the weight of his official influence, but added liberal contributions from his own purse to establish schools in all convenient localities.

Aids religion and education

Indian treaties
One of Nicholson's first efforts was toward securing a permanent peace with the Indians. Treaties were made with the Creeks and the Cherokees on the western and southwestern borders, which secured to them the peaceable possession of their hunting-grounds, they agreeing in turn not to molest the settlements of their white neighbors. But the guaranty for the observance of the treaties was Nicholson's self only; and after the close

of his administration they were kept no longer than suited the liking of either party. He also secured satisfactory arrangements with the Spaniards and Yemassees of Florida, ending the constant dread of invasion from that quarter. All his acts were marked by a large degree of wisdom and discretion; and after a peaceful and prosperous term of four years, he resigned the government into the hands of Arthur Middleton, president of the Council, and returned to England.

1721-31

Nicholson's
Indian
treaties

During all this time, the inquiry into the alleged violation of the charter by the proprietaries had been suffered to languish. Peace having been restored, and the clamorous complaints of the colonists hushed, no one felt sufficient interest in the subject to keep it alive or bring the suit to a conclusion. But no sooner had Nicholson given up the government than the proprietaries again asserted their right to rule, and appointed Colonel Samuel Horsey governor of South Carolina. They were no doubt stimulated by Middleton's having been president of the convention which overthrew their authority, and active in the movement to transfer the government from the proprietaries to the Crown;—though it was said that he had been as careful to promote loyalty to the King as to secure the welfare of his fellow-subjects. He was therefore clearly not a man the proprietaries could mold to their wishes, and they protested loudly against his appointment. Nothing is known of Horsey beyond his commission, which was of no effect. Middleton retained his office from 1725

Leaves
government to
Council

Proprietaries
again interfere

Protest
against
Middleton

1724-34

to 1731, overlapping the transference of the province to the Crown by two years.

Burrington
governor

In January 1724 the proprietaries appointed George Burrington governor of North Carolina. He was a man without character or reputation, and owed the place to the influence of his father, who had been active in the movement that placed George I. on the throne. It was the worst appointment ever made in England of a colonial governor, of which class he was the most disgraceful, not excepting Cornbury: an ignorant, hard-drinking, roystering blackguard and "hoodlum," who assaulted magistrates and broke windows in night frolics. He was retired in 1725, and Sir Charles

Everard
succeeds
him

Everard appointed in his stead,—the last proprietary governor of the province, and no great improvement save in external decency: indeed, during these last years of their course the proprietaries seem to have lost all sense of duty toward their charge. Burrington was so incensed over his displacement that he spent his time devising vulgar blackguardly annoyances, and was several times indicted for disorderly conduct. He subsequently left the colony and returned to England; the strength of family "pulls" and low sense of obligation to the colonies at the time is shown by his appointment in 1730 as the first royal governor, to supersede his old enemy Everard. Finally, in 1734, learning that the Council had forwarded complaints against him to England, he left the colony, ostensibly on a visit to South Carolina; but secretly took passage in a ship for London,

Burrington's
later
career



THE SOUTHERN COLONIES IN 1725.

where some time later, after a drunken escapade, he was found murdered one morning in St. James' Park.

1729-52

Through the influence of the Earl of Wilmington, Gabriel Johnston was appointed Burrington's successor as royal governor of North Carolina in 1734. He was a man of education and character; and during his administration, which lasted until his death in 1752, the province flourished satisfactorily.

Governor
Johnston

The proprietaries' reassertion of rule in the Carolinas brought a renewal of disorder, and a constant stream of complaints. The government deemed it full time to set these turmoils at rest forever,—it cannot be accused of precipitancy,—and the proprietaries were asked to fix a price on their possessions. After some wrangling, and several very positive threats from the Crown to assume control *nolens volens*, the government agreed in 1729 to purchase both the provinces, including quit-rents, for about \$112,000 in cash. Each of the eight proprietary estates would have received about \$14,000; but Lord Carteret refused to become a party, and his one-eighth interest was set apart by giving him all the territory from 34° 35' to the Virginia boundary and west to the Pacific. It was an empire in itself, but neither he nor his heirs had derived any considerable benefit from it when it passed out of their hands through the Revolution.¹

Crown
buys out
proprie-
taries

¹ Proprietary colonies in America were perhaps the most disappointing ventures ever undertaken by capitalists. In every instance

Popula-
tion of
Caro-
linas

From the date of the Crown purchase the Carolinas became officially separate, and were governed as distinct jurisdictions. Their combined population was estimated at 25,000, including the negro slaves; but this must have been much below the real number. Early in the eighteenth century the population of South Carolina alone was estimated at about 5000; in 1723 a somewhat careful public census showed a total of 32,000, of whom 18,000 were slaves; 35,000 is conservative for 1729. North Carolina was more sparsely populated; but the population of the two cannot have been much less than 50,000.

Great
negro
percent-
age in
South
Carolina

The conditions in the southern province shown by the census of 1723 were very alarming. The negro slaves numbered more than half the population, and the enlarged cultivation of rice constantly increased the proportion; the slaves were supplied not only by fresh acquisitions of negroes, but from gangs of captive and resentful Indians. The eager masters of British slave-ships encouraged the demand, and the slave majority at last

they cost more than they produced; unless perhaps in Penn's case. And yet what could have excited the visions of a dreamer more than the opportunity to establish an empire in the wilderness of America? Here apparently was an opening, favored above all others, to plant empires that should rival the power and splendor of the greatest monarchies of the old world. Even now, knowing the causes of the universal failure, it is hard to understand why some of the ventures did not strike the happy mean, build up flourishing communities and obtain a handsome toll upon their industries. The truth was, the proprietors desired patent and glaring control, for distinction in England as feudal sovereigns, even more than profit; but that was the one thing which was impossible in exact proportion as the colonies grew strong and rich, and on this rock all the ventures foundered which survived the stage of initial loss.

became a matter of serious apprehension with the whites. As a repressive measure the slaves were treated with exceptional severity; at last, in 1739, when they outnumbered their masters four to one, they organized a company for a general massacre of the whites. Smarting under daily wrongs and hopelessness, and inflamed by the barbarous passions of their race, their uprising was characterized by easily imaginable cruelty. It was suppressed with the utmost difficulty; of course the Spaniards were held responsible for exciting it, and the immemorial feud between the Carolina English and the Florida Spaniards was still further inflamed into perpetual active hostilities.

1739
et seq.

Slave
insur-
rection

The insurrection warned the Carolinas sharply of their danger, and several measures were enacted by the Assembly to mitigate the evils of slavery. Very little was accomplished, however: at best the task was almost impossible; and the opposition of the English government on revenue grounds, and the friendly disposition of the Church party toward the institution, made it wholly so. As a rule, the Dissenting ministers, especially the Quakers, Methodists, and Moravians, were opposed to slavery; while the Catholics were everywhere patrons and defenders of the oppressed negroes and Indians—more probably from political opposition to the slaves' masters than moral disapproval of the institution in the abstract. But the Established Church, as a rule, aligned itself on the side of the masters. Some years before the Revolution, the South Carolina Assembly passed

Slavery
question
mooted

Colonists
forbidden
to check
slave
trade

an act forbidding the further importation of African slaves; but the measure was vetoed by the royal governor, under emphatic instructions from the home government, as "contrary to the policy and injurious to the trade of Great Britain!" Many of the colonists, even at that early date, would gladly have rid themselves of the curse of slavery; but their efforts were always opposed and in the end defeated by the royal authorities.

John-
son's re-
turn as
royal
governor

In 1731 Robert Johnson was appointed royal governor of South Carolina, and soon afterward returned to the scene of his former activities. His coming was hailed with joy, for he had never lost his personal popularity. A complete change had taken place in public sentiment: peace prevailed, and the people were prosperous, and loyal to that "new broom," the Crown government. Johnson's landing at Charlestown was made the occasion of a public holiday, accompanied by a grand civic and military display; but this time no muskets pointed at his breast. He was everywhere greeted with smiling faces and hearty good-will, cheers and the waving of feminine handkerchiefs. It was a proud and happy day with Governor Johnson. His welcome was all the warmer because in his train appeared six stately Cherokee chiefs, who had been absent several years in England, acquiring the rudiments of an education and observing the might of Great Britain; it was believed that their report would impress their people into keeping a permanent peace, but the expectation was not fulfilled. The young men still thirsted for the

glories of war, and present wrongs and racial antipathy were not to be outweighed by second-hand stories.

Johnson found abundance of work to do; indeed, his energetic industry led him to undertake some things he might better have left alone. In his first report to the royal government he stated that no taxes had been collected since Nicholson's departure, and no court of justice held during Middleton's administration. This is impossible to believe: Middleton's record is good, and the new Governor evidently over-colored the situation to magnify the duties he intended to perform. But whatever the real facts, he set himself to work with commendable energy; and so won the people's admiration that when he died four years later, the Assembly had a monument erected to his memory in St. Philip's Church, Charlestown.

John-
son's
new ad-
minis-
tration

The colonies were overwhelmed with debt in the form of bills of credit, issued at various times for war expenses, and expected to supply a medium of exchange. But so rapidly did they depreciate that at one time it required nearly \$4000 in South Carolina bills to settle an account of \$500 in London. Balances were customarily settled with produce; rice, skins, pitch, and tar were more stable as well as more valuable currency than Carolina notes.

Currency
con-
ditions

Owing to their remoteness from the seat of war, and their constant danger from the Spanish and Indians, the Carolinas took no active part in the Seven Years' War for the conquest of

Cruel
debt and
criminal
laws

The founders were wealthy gentlemen who had in view a colony to give a fresh opportunity to the poor; especially to insolvent debtors, rated as criminals by the harsh laws of the time, and to certain classes of petty offenders against property, over-punished with equal harshness as abandoned felons. A single mistake in a commercial venture might condemn an honorable man to a lifetime of incarceration and disgrace; a trivial theft (by the letter of the law, if the jury chose to stand upon it) consigned the perpetrator to the gallows. To ameliorate these shocking conditions, to take the unfortunate and the weakly erring out of the prisons and sustain and encourage them until they could become independent planters, was the humane conception of the originators of the plan; chief among whom was James Edward Oglethorpe, a distinguished military officer.

Unselfish
Georgia
founda-
tion

The charter placed the province of Georgia under the guardianship of a board of incorporators for twenty years, "in trust for the poor." The seal of the corporation had on one side a group of silk-worms at their toil, with the motto "Non sibi, sed aliis" (Not for themselves, but for others); and in conformity with this motto, the patrons by their own request were restrained from receiving any remuneration or grants of lands, that they might have neither selfish motives nor suspicion of them. The reverse side contained two figures reposing on urns, emblematic of the boundary rivers; while the colonists' liberty was indicated by "Georgia Augusta," with the cap of

liberty on her head, a spear in one hand and a horn of plenty in the other.

1717

But Oglethorpe and his associates were not the first in effort to colonize Georgia. Sir Robert Montgomery, a visionary Scotch nobleman, endeavored as early as 1717 to plant a colony on the banks of the Savannah, and purchased of the Carolina proprietaries the territory between that and the Altamaha. Had he succeeded, his province would have been confined to this narrow strip. The purchase was conditioned on his occupying it within three years, otherwise it reverted to the proprietaries. Sir Robert proposed to call his colony by the resounding name of the Margraviate of Azilia, and proceeded to extol the region in a style that would excite the envy of the modern promoter. "It is generally agreed," he declared, "that Carolina, especially in its Southern Bounds, is the most amiable Country in the Universe; That Nature had not bless'd the World with any Tract that can be preferable to it; that *Paradise*, with all her Virgin Beauties, may be modestly suppos'd at most but equal to its Native Excellencies."

Sir
Robert
Mont-
gomery's
Azilia

This delightful region, as population should require, was to be divided into uniform districts twenty miles square, without regard to swamps, rivers, mountains, or any other of nature's obstructions; and surrounded by fortifications defended by yeomen, required to maintain themselves and the Margrave by cultivating a strip one mile wide around the entire square within the

1717

Lay-out
of Azilia

inner wall. Inside this strip was to be another two miles wide, from which the time-expired members of the garrison might select farms to occupy rent-free the remainder of their lives. These were in lieu of pensions, which however were directly provided for those disabled in war. The rest of the square was to be laid out in one hundred and sixteen smaller squares of one mile each, "bating only for the highways which divide them," to be the estates of the "Gentry of the District." In the centre a space four miles square was reserved for the city, and a smaller square at each of the four corners for parks, in which the colony's cattle and game were to be pastured. The Margrave's palace, surrounded by ample grounds, beautified by parks, drives, walks, and statuary, was to occupy the centre of the whole plan.

Remains
a cloud-
castle

This fanciful scheme was a chimera of exactly the same nature as Locke and Shaftesbury's "grand frame of the constitutions" for the Carolinas: it could never have worked, but it never was tried. South Carolina was then in the throes of a revolution, and emigrants declined to risk being drawn into the vortex of a civil war; margrave timber was doubtless plenty, but yeomen did not appear, and at the end of three years the territory reverted to the original owners.

No other attempt to colonize that region was made during the next fifteen years, and it remained debatable ground between English Carolina and Spanish Florida, each claiming under the

Treaty of Madrid, 1667. The dispute had led to constant quarrels, and finally to open and desperate war; meanwhile no white men lived there except a few traders. Even the Indian population was meagre; in 1703, however, Governor Moore of South Carolina had transported to the Savannah a small friendly tribe called the Yamacraws, as a sort of outpost against the tribes in alliance with the Spaniards. This incident had something to do with the future colonization of the territory; for it led the English government to conceive the idea of establishing settlements all along the southern banks of the river Savannah, as a protection to the Carolinas. This was one motive for granting the charter to Oglethorpe and his associates.

1703-31

Yama-
craws as
buffer
against
Florida

The incorporators were wholly controlled by philanthropic motives. Oglethorpe was a member of Parliament, and his official position gave him opportunities to investigate the wretched condition of the English prisons and their occupants. His naturally generous and benevolent disposition revolted at the misery which he found on every hand; and in 1731 he had a report made to the House of Commons, stating that "there were great numbers of indigent persons burthen-some to the public, who would be willing to seek a livelihood in any of his Majesty's plantations in America, if they were provided with a passage and means of settling there," and petitioning that lands in the southern part of South Carolina be granted certain trustees to plant a colony of such

Ogle-
thorpe on
poor
debtors

1731-2
Dual motive of founding Georgia

persons. The subject received ample consideration, being discussed in Parliament for two terms, ending in the charter aforesaid. Its expressed conditions were "for the benefit of the poor of the kingdom, and for the protection of the southern frontier of the American colonies," the objects of government and philanthropists being thus placed on equal footing.

Oglethorpe's early career

At the founding of Georgia, the last English colony in America, Oglethorpe was thirty-four years of age, and in the prime of a splendid manhood, of a handsome and commanding presence. While a mere boy he had served with distinction under Prince Eugene, that soldier of fortune and of genius whose accomplishments almost rivaled Napoleon's—an incomparable school in which to learn the science of war; and approved himself not only brave and skillful, but shrewd, cool, and tactful to an extraordinary degree.¹ This, and endless patience and tenacity of purpose, was in spite of a naturally hot and impetuous temper, which makes the slapdash gossip Horace Walpole call him a "bully,"—the least appropriate characterization in the world. Such imperiousness as

¹A notable instance was his parry of a cowardly insult from the German Prince of Würtemberg, an overgrown bully who wished to force a quarrel on a stripling, and without risk gain repute for winning a duel. At a public banquet the prince lifted a glass of wine, and by a sudden motion made some of the foam fly in Oglethorpe's face. By the code of military honor this called for an immediate challenge; but Oglethorpe with lightning quickness of resource lifted his own glass, smiled blandly, remarked, "Prince, that's a clever joke, but we do it much better in England," and threw its contents in his adversary's face. This turned the laugh on the swaggerer, and made a hero of Oglethorpe without a duel.



GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

he had was the natural expression of a clear-sighted and energetic nature's just confidence that it knew best what to do and how to do it, strengthened by a soldier's training and confirmed by success. An aristocrat by blood and associations, and firmly believing in the English order of society, he was full of a democratic sympathy for the masses; his warm and generous humanity never showed a lapse throughout his life, and sometimes prejudiced important interests. Withal he was well read, and a natural lover of books and of scholarship. His vigorous mind, his varied talents and experiences, and his catholic sympathies, all fitted him eminently for the headship of a new colony.

Ogle-
thorpe's
varied
merits
and ac-
complish-
ments

The times were propitious for Oglethorpe's movement. Shortly before, a wealthy Londoner had bequeathed his fortune to the government, for use in liberating insolvent debtors from prison; the government accepted the bequest, freed many who formed a part of the new colony, and subscribed handsomely to aid the latter. All the trustees, in addition to gratuitous service, contributed liberally from their private means. The Bank of England and other public institutions added their gifts and influence. In truth, the English heart was better than its past action: it had not known how bad the conditions were, and was profoundly shocked. There was a great outpouring of honest human sympathy.

Debtors'
hard-
ships
rouse
general
sym-
pathy

The trustees adhered rigidly to the initial purpose, and selected the first company of colonists

1732
Member-
ship of
first
colony

from destitute but deserving inhabitants of the larger cities, and from insolvent debtors and honest laborers out of employment. Creditors not alone readily assigned their worthless claims on imprisoned debtors, but in a number of instances contributed generously in cash. All idlers and vicious persons were carefully excluded; and no married men who expressed a willingness to leave their families behind were suffered to join. Oglethorpe's spirit was of the kind that saves the world by helping men to redeem themselves.

Trustees
dictators

For twenty-one years all legislative, executive, and judicial power was confided to the trustees and their Council; but as a guarantee of faithfulness they were to retain their places only during good behavior. If this contradicted the emblem of liberty on the seal, the character of the emigrants made it indispensable at the outset. No trustee, nor any councillor chosen by them, was ever accused of violating his trust; they were without exception men of honor and genuine benevolence. One of the first board, Rev. Stephen Hales, was a clergyman of the Church of England, who had proven his right to the title of philanthropist by inventing an apparatus for the ventilation of prisons and hospitals, markedly reducing their mortality; an advocate of temperance likewise, probably the chief agent in excluding rum from Georgia in the beginning. Hales and Oglethorpe were the active members of the board; Oglethorpe was the immediate personal, indomitable leader who made the movement a success.

Their
high
charac-
ter

The first company of emigrants consisted of thirty-five families, one hundred and fourteen souls in all, under the individual leadership of Oglethorpe. It sailed from Gravesend in the *Anne*, November 17, 1732; a stormy season, but no serious consequences resulted. After a reasonably quick voyage, it reached Charlestown January 13 following; and Oglethorpe went up into the town to confer with Governor Johnson, whom he found most friendly to the enterprise. Captain William Bull, a prominent citizen, subsequently lieutenant-governor of South Carolina, joined company with him; and next day the *Anne* sailed for Beaufort, where the emigrants rested while Oglethorpe and Bull explored the Savannah in quest of a town site. Some distance above the mouth they descried a high and picturesque bluff, where the city of Savannah now stands, and Oglethorpe at once selected it as the location of his metropolis. Returning to Beaufort they rejoined the emigrants, and the following Sunday was observed as a day of thanksgiving.

1732-3

Sailing
of first
colonySite of
Savan-
nah
selected

"There was," says a writer of the time describing the ceremonies, "a great resort of Gentlemen of that neighborhood and their families; and a plentiful dinner provided for the Colony, and all that came, by Mr. Oglethorpe; being 4 fat hogs, 8 turkies, besides fowls, English Beef, and other provisions, a hogshead of punch, a hogshead of beer, and a large quantity of wine; and all was so disposed, in so regular a manner, that no person was drunk, and no disorder happened."

Festivi-
ties of
arrival

1733

Savan-
nah
founded

The emigrants were charmed with this introduction to the new country, and after they had recovered from their thanksgiving exercises, proceeded rejoicingly to the permanent habitation selected by their leader. They reached it February 12 and encamped that night on the shore; this date may therefore be accepted as the natal day of Savannah and of Georgia. A large tent was erected upon four pine-trees, and beneath it Oglethorpe found shelter for nearly a year.

Initial
work

The emigrants were accompanied by a number of bricklayers, carpenters, farmers, and other industrial workers, all provided with their respective implements; these men with the rest were set to work, and forthwith the town assumed the appearance of a thriving settlement. Streets were laid out with the utmost regularity; at each central point was a public square, and all unnecessary variations from straight lines were carefully avoided. The modern city is said to owe much of its beauty and attractiveness to this initial plan of Oglethorpe. Meantime other men were employed in clearing off the forest; some of the finest trees, however, were left for shade and to grace the well-planned parks. Within a few days the clearings permitted the erection of houses. These first, being intended for temporary use only, were of but a single room, sixteen by twenty-four feet, so that each could be completed in a few days. The mild climate made protection against the cold unnecessary; hence the houses consisted only of temporary frame, sided with unplanned boards and

clapboarded. The floors were of rough boards or "puncheons," unsightly, but serving their purpose. 1733

The people enjoyed the novelty of their surroundings, and worked in the spirit of a picnic. Moreover, what they had was their own, without fear of ejection or the jail. All the houses were exactly alike, without the least favoritism; any extras or ornamentation had to come afterward, as a result of individual industry. Oglethorpe himself, when he moved out of his tent, had no better house than any other inhabitant. It was the kind of life that suited the young leader's romantic disposition; and many years afterward, when he was living in England in a style befitting his high estate, he was often heard to refer lovingly to the happy months he had spent in the Georgia forests—quoting these verses from Addison's *Cato*, and applying them to himself:

"Coarse are his meals,—the fortune of the chase,
Amidst the running stream he slakes his thirst,
Toils all the day, and at the approach of night,
On the first friendly bank he throws him down,
Or rests his head upon the rock till morn:
Then rises fresh, pursues his wonted game;
And if the following day he chance to find
A new repast, or an untasted spring,
Blesses his stars, and thinks it luxury."

It was the purpose of the trustees to make the new colony serviceable in various ways. Wine was to be produced for the English market, from the wild grapes luxuriant in the woodlands; this was no chimera, for some of the finest modern

Building
the new
Savan-
nah

Ogle-
thorpe's
enjoy-
ment

Agricul-
tural
plans

1733

Dreams of
Georgia
agricul-
ture

Wine, oil,
silk

Arms and
fortifica-
tions

wines owe their origin to the native grapes of American forests. Olives were to be cultivated, and England supplied with olive oil from its own colony instead of seeking it in Italy and other foreign countries. Indeed, a prevalent idea at the time was that England, with the assistance of her colonies, could be made independent of all the rest of the world. She paid the weavers of Piedmont more than \$2,500,000 annually for silk cloth; Georgia was expected soon to supply this entire demand, and keep pace with its growth. A few Piedmontese silk-workers were tempted over with the first emigrants, and brought with them a quantity of Italian silk-worm eggs. In clearing away the forests, every mulberry-tree was carefully preserved, and others were planted to feed the silk-worms. None of these plans flourished; yet some were entirely feasible,—perhaps all,—and might have resulted in vast benefits had they been carried out.

Among other ample supplies were tools and implements of war: a primary need in a colony neighboring Spanish Florida, and without which it would soon have been wiped out. The King gave them seventy-four pieces of cannon, with materials for building forts, and an adequate stock of ammunition. A fort was established at Savannah.

After the people had landed their goods, they were told off into three parties, for better division of labor. One felled the trees on the town site, another prepared the soil, the third put up the

palisades and built the fort. The planting season was at hand, and no time was lost in getting in the seed. The unoccupied town lots were also devoted to the raising of food. The women of course performed their domestic share. It was a community of workers in which there were no drones. And yet they were hindered in various ways, principally by the prevailing miasma. On the 10th of March Oglethorpe wrote to the trustees, "Our people still lie in tents, there being only two clapboard houses built, and three sawed houses framed. Our crane, our battery, cannon and magazine are finished. This is all that we have been able to do, by reason of the smallness of our number, of which many have been sick, and others unused to labor; though I thank God, they are now pretty well, and we have not lost one since our arrival." This was a very favorable report, considering the primitive conditions and the inevitable scantiness of sick-comforts. Meantime Captain Bull had returned from Charlestown with a company of emigrants from that city, and a number of hired laborers inured to the climate, who led the way in building the little city on the banks of the Savannah. In due time it was laid off into four wards, these again subdivided into parishes, and tithings apportioned to the inhabitants.

When all were provided with modest homes, a portion of the cleared space was formed into a large garden; where fruits and vegetables, indigenous or English, were grown in common by the inhabitants. Oglethorpe himself set the example

1733

Early
work at
Savan-
nah

Malaria

Muni-
cipal di-
visionsCommon
garden

1733
Firm discipline of
Ogle-
thorpe

of daily industry, and all were required to labor a certain number of hours each day at some useful occupation. The men capable of bearing arms were also organized into military companies and drilled daily, in addition to their other tasks.

Ogle-
thorpe
displaces
the Yam-
acraws

Within half a mile lived the friendly Yamacraws, whose chief was Tomo-chichi. How Governor Moore of South Carolina had planted them there as a buffer against their semi-hostile kin the Creeks, has been told in the previous chapter. They were kept on good terms with the whites by presents and a wholesome dread of their power. Oglethorpe made overtures to them directly after landing, which were amicably met. Tomo-chichi and his principal men came to the settlement, bearing as a present a buffalo robe painted on the inside with an eagle's head and feathers. It was a royal gift, and Oglethorpe received it with the deference due.

Tomo-
chichi's
address

"Here is a little present," said the chief, as he laid the offering at the white leader's feet. "The eagle signifies speed, and the buffalo strength. The English are as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast. Like the first, they fly from the uttermost parts of the earth over the vast seas, and like the second, they are so strong that nothing can withstand them. The feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo skin is warm, and is the emblem of protection. Will the English therefore accept these emblems, and extend their love and protection to the families of the Indians?"



TOMO-CHICHI AND HIS SON.

(From the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library.)

The great power which dwelt in heaven and all around the universe, he declared, had endowed the English with wisdom and riches, so that they wanted for nothing; while the same power had lavished great territories on the Indians, who were yet in need of everything. It was therefore wisdom for the Indians to give up the lands they did not need, in exchange for some of the comforts possessed by the English, that the Indians also might learn to be civilized and become a great and powerful people. These were the wise conclusions of Tomo-chichi, in which he was judiciously encouraged by Oglethorpe.

1733

Tomo-
chichi's
pleasing
views

But Tomo-chichi represented only his personal sentiments, for he controlled but a small community of savages at Yamacraw. The powerful Creek nation looked loftily down on him and his people; and Oglethorpe deemed it advisable to have a conference with the Creek chiefs, then supposed to be in communication with the Spanish emissaries, and learn their intentions regarding his colony from themselves. A half-breed Indian woman, who had married a Carolina trader named Musgrove, living near Tomo-chichi's place, volunteered to act as interpreter; for the couple were naturally anxious to have the Creeks on friendly terms with the new settlers, to increase their own trade. She was accordingly dispatched with a formal invitation to all the Creek chiefs to attend a grand conference at Savannah; and in due time they appeared, fifty in number, in all the splendor of feathers and other barbaric ornaments.

Ogle-
thorpe
wishes
Creek
allianceChiefs
visit Sa-
vannah

1733, etc. Oglethorpe declared that these savages were the finest-looking men he had ever seen, and the dignity of their bearing added to the impression.

Creek traditions
Districts
Confederacy
The history of this people is full of romantic interest. They called themselves Este Muskokee or Muscokulke—"men who came out of the earth"; literally so according to their tradition, in the far northwest, emigrating thence southward until they reached Florida. Denied further progress by the sea, they fell back and occupied the region extending eastward to the Ocmulgee and westward to the Coosa and Tallapoosa. Northward there was no definite limit to their territory. As their country abounded with small streams, it was called the "creek country" by the first white settlers and traders, whence the Indians themselves were known as the Creek Indians. A portion, however, separated from the main body and remained in Florida; these were called Seminoles, "wanderers" or "seceders." A number of alien tribes had inhabited this country before the Creeks came, but were subjugated and incorporated. The whole now formed an immense confederacy little less formidable than the Iroquois, with fifty towns and nearly six thousand warriors.

Polity
Their polity was peculiar and one of free republicanism, much resembling our State and federal system. Each town was independent in domestic concerns, but all were united as to outside matters; only a majority of towns could declare war or make treaties. Each town had its own *micco*, or elective king, who however was only

an executive officer, carrying out the people's will as expressed through their representatives. Next to him was the head war-chief; these two officials were assigned special houses adjoining the public square. Each town was a log-house parallelogram inclosed by palisades. In the centre was the public square, where the tribal councils and the great national feasts—called “posketa,” or more commonly “busk”—were held. These occasions were frequent; for the Creeks, like all other American tribes, were a social and pleasure-loving race.

1733

Creek
govern-
ment and
society

Eight tribes and nearly all the towns were represented in the grand council at Savannah in 1733. Oglethorpe addressed the assembled chiefs in a speech vaunting the great power, wisdom, and wealth of the English nation. He set forth the many advantages that would accrue to the Indians from a friendly alliance with his people, who could bring them wealth and comforts they had never dreamed of, in exchange for their surplus lands and the products of the chase. He assured them that his people's intentions were of the most peaceful and friendly character; but at the same time they wielded a great power, which the Indians could not withstand, for they could harness the thunder and lightning for the destruction of their enemies. He concluded by expressing a wish that the Creek nation would grant to the colonists a portion of the lands they did not need, and join them in a friendly alliance to oppose the encroachments of other races.

Ogle-
thorpe's
speech at
Savan-
nah
council

1733 The Indians were vastly pleased with the speech, and especially with the benevolent disposition and fine appearance of the speaker. The chiefs meanwhile had been presented with laced coats, wool hats, and cotton shirts, which for good manners they put on over their native dress, greatly to the detriment of their personal dignity. Their followers were presented with bright-colored cloths and other articles of value in the savage eye, besides a quantity of gunpowder, bullets, pipes, tobacco, variously colored tapes, and eight kegs of rum to be taken home to their people. They were all consequently in a very friendly mood; Long King, one of their chiefs, expressing the sentiments of his nation, declared that "We are persuaded that the Great Spirit has sent the English hither for our good; and therefore they are welcome to all the land we do not need," whereupon he laid eight bundles of buckskin at Oglethorpe's feet, as an evidence that eight tribes concurred in his sentiments.

Exchange
of gifts
with
Creeks

Tomo-
chichi
speaks
again

Tomo-chichi then arose, and with much dignity said, among other things, "When these white men came I feared they would drive us away, for we were weak; but they promised not to molest us, and they have been very kind to my people." His speech was accepted by the other Indians as an assurance that the English would keep faith with them; and some of the young braves offered to avenge the death of certain Englishmen killed by the Cherokees, if the great chief of the white people would permit it. But Oglethorpe declined

this warlike offer, for he desired peace with both nations. He told them it was his wish to set an example of peace and friendship with all men, that they might gain knowledge, acquire riches, and live in comfort, like the English.

1733

The chief of Coweta, who had not hitherto spoken, now stood up and said: "We are come twenty-five days' journey to see you. I was never willing to go down to Charlestown, lest I should die on the way; but when I heard that you were come, and that you are good men, I came down that I might hear good things." All were well satisfied, and on the 1st of June a treaty was concluded granting to the English sovereignty over the Creek lands as far south as St. John's River; they agreeing in return to form no new settlements without first obtaining the consent of the Indians. Rules for trade between the races, and adjustment of disputes according to English laws, were also agreed to; and the Indians promised not to permit any other white nation to settle in their country. No more just or advantageous Indian treaty was ever made in America.

Highly
profit-
able
treaty
with
Creeks

The following year Oglethorpe held a council with the Cherokees also, and won their lasting regard and affection. They had already contracted friendly relations with the English. In 1730 Sir Alexander Cuming had been sent among them to counteract the influence of the French; he gained their esteem, and on his return took with him six of their chiefs, who were greatly pleased with the manner in which they were entertained, and much

English
and Cher-
okees

1730-3

The Cherokeees

struck by the power and splendor of England. Their nation remained in alliance with that people ever afterward; naturally so in the Revolution as against the Americans, for American success meant their own displacement. Their country lay north and east of the Creeks, and war prevailed almost constantly between them; unlike the Creeks, they dwelt in small unprotected villages along the banks of the streams. They were fishers as well as hunters, and located their villages with a view to the convenience of both occupations. They were neither so powerful nor so warlike as the Creeks, and would doubtless have been subdued by the latter had the coming of the English been delayed a few years longer.

Cherokee
chief at
Savannah

Scarcely had the grand council with the Creeks been closed when a Cherokee chief appeared in the town, and stood proudly in the presence of the Governor. "Fear nothing," said the English commander, "but speak freely." The red mountaineer tossed his head disdainfully, and replied: "I always speak freely. Why should I fear? I have never known fear even among my enemies, and why should I be afraid now in the midst of friends?" He then spoke of Cuming's visit and the treaty; and declared that he had no sooner heard of the arrival of the English at the Savannah than he set out to welcome them. Oglethorpe was greatly moved by this strong evidence of goodwill, and the chief was so well treated at Savannah that he carried back glowing accounts of the goodness and generosity of the newly come white men.

This knit a fresh strand of English friendship with the Cherokees.

1733

In July 1733 Red Shoes, a famous Choctaw chief, came to Savannah to propose a similar treaty from his people; a hunting and agricultural nation west of the Creeks, occupying what is now central and southern Mississippi and southwestern Alabama, and mustering twenty-five hundred warriors. "I have come a great way," said he, "and my people are a great nation. We have heard that you are a just man, and we desire to be friends with your people. The French are building forts against us, but not with our consent, and we do not like that nation. They supply us with poor goods and cheat our people; and we now desire that trade be opened between you and us." The treaty was made. It was alleged that the Choctaws were deceitful and unfaithful, but Oglethorpe did not find them so. They observed their obligations with fidelity during all the subsequent troubles with the Spaniards and their Indian allies.

Choctaw
chief pro-
poses
treaty

Which is
made

Thus Oglethorpe's good faith, nobility of soul, and conciliatory manners, won the confidence of all the Indians; and he was enabled to effect permanent treaties with the very tribes whose vengeance the Carolina colonists had so long dreaded, in consequence of their own outrages upon them. His fame spread through the wilderness, even to the Mississippi.

Ogle-
thorpe's
success
with
Indians

The Natchez were among the most interesting friends; they lived on the east bank of the Mississippi, their principal town occupying the site of

1733 and
before

Natchez
and
Tensas
tribes

the present Natchez. The Tensas were a kindred tribe, who by their traditions had remained nearer the Gulf when a destructive war drove them from the southwest. Both were sun-worshippers, and had learned the mound-building art from formerly neighboring Mexican tribes. The Natchez were a brave but peaceable people, who would submit to some injustice before resorting to battle. Their principal chief, called the Great Sun, was traditionally descended in the female line from a man and woman who came down from the sun and first taught them the arts of civilization. They had also a class of nobility, who were haughty and overbearing. Their only arms were bows and arrows. They had numerous feasts, and were a merry, light-hearted, and dissolute race.

French
destroy
the
Natchez

A short time before this, the French settlers—on the ground of some individual outrages, with which they were not more patient than the English—had made relentless war on them and driven them across the Mississippi to the Black River, within the present limits of Louisiana. Here they made a stand, but were again defeated in a battle on January 25, 1731, when the sun-chief, with his next in succession, forty warriors, and nearly four hundred women and children, were captured. All were transported to Santo Domingo and sold as slaves. The remnant joined the Chickasaws, and with them maintained a ferocious war against the French and their native allies for some time afterward. They now sought an alliance with Oglethorpe's colonists; but they were too distant and



Characteristic Chinaman bear

(From the Carter Brown Library at Providence, R. I.)

the English too feeble to render them any material assistance, and the Natchez never regained their separate existence. 1733

But while Oglethorpe was cementing a permanent friendship with the Indians, he did not neglect other essential matters. Every primary industry was vigorously prosecuted. No one was permitted to be idle. The first rude huts of clapboards with roofs of boughs were soon displaced by more substantial and attractive dwellings. Within a year from its founding, Savannah had become a city of respectable dimensions, with many features that made it a desirable place of residence. The people were beginning to look upon America as their permanent home. The silk-workers had labored assiduously, and soon had consignments ready for shipment to the mother country. Before it was two years old Georgia was an exporting colony. The colonists had gathered their first crop of Indian corn, amounting to one thousand bushels, and felt that they had reached a point where they might consider themselves practically independent of the rest of the world. There were evidences of progress on every hand. On Tybee Island, near the mouth of the river, had been laid the foundation for a light-house, whose beacon was to attain a height of ninety feet. A battery had been established on the river bank below the town.

Savan-
nah's
quick rise

Progress
of the
colony

The utmost harmony prevailed between the Georgians and the Carolinians. The latter had contributed generously to help the building of

1733
et seq.

Caro-
lina's
aid to
Georgia

houses in Savannah, and the gift was appropriately acknowledged in an address to the citizens of Charlestown by Oglethorpe, in a subsequent visit. A strong bond of union had already sprung up among the southern colonies, which increasing community of interests only strengthened.

Highland
Scotch in
Georgia

A company of Highlanders led by one McPherson had settled on the Ogeechee River, and built a fort near its mouth for protection against the Spanish vessels; they called the place Fort Argyle for the Duke, but it has long ceased to exist. It is doubtful if any traces now remain, unless it may be some of the early graves. Other parties of Highlanders came out from time to time, under their petty chiefs. Some remained at Fort Argyle; others ventured further south and settled on the Altamaha, at a place they called Darien, which still exists, with a population in 1900 of 1739. The Scotchmen were well trained by their life at home to struggle successfully with the American wilderness. Game was abundant, and they loved the excitement of the chase. The stirring music of the bagpipes fascinated the wondering savages, and they became enthusiastic admirers of their Scotch neighbors; when the Spaniards later invaded Georgia, this friendship proved of immense value to the colonists. The Indians not only fought by their side, but were indispensable as scouts and spies, keeping the settlers constantly informed of every movement made or contemplated by the Spanish, who had certainly not fascinated their Indian neighbors.

Frater-
nize with
Indians

One of the most interesting groups of immigrants in this early period was a body of religious enthusiasts from Germany, known as Herrnhuters or Moravians. They asserted that they had preserved through all the Christian centuries the very principles of the Apostolic Church, free from contamination by the erroneous doctrines of Rome. In the beginning of the sixteenth century they had a regularly established organization in Moravia and Bohemia, with bishops and pastors, more than four hundred houses of worship, and two printing establishments. During the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) their settlements and congregations were destroyed; they were harried by fire and sword and torture, and more than fifty thousand of them driven into exile. The cowed remnant abandoned all church organization, outwardly accepted Catholic worship though adhering secretly to their belief, and keeping their zeal alive by meeting in the forest and in mines and caverns. About the end of the seventeenth century their increasing numbers and boldness once more attracted the attention of the Roman Church, and a second time the machinery of persecution was set in motion against them.

In 1722 Count Zinzendorf of Saxony, a convert, offered them a place on his estate at Berthelsdorf, and within five years three hundred had collected there; they built a little town at the foot of Hutsberg hill, to which they gave the name of Herrnhut (Tabernacle of the Lord), whence their appellation. Zinzendorf became a bishop of the

Early
history
of the Mo-
ravians

Zinzen-
dorf

1722-33

church, and from that date the Moravians began to increase and spread themselves over Protestant Europe and America.

Savage
persecu-
tion of
Mora-
vians

In 1728 the Archbishop of Salzburg, alarmed at the spread of heresy in his diocese, decided to exterminate it, and organized a *dragnnade* of such fury that within three or four years he drove out thirty thousand heretics. The terrified Moravians sought refuge and safety in Prussia, Holland, and England, or wherever they could find respite. To America they flocked in considerable numbers. In England the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge reached out a helping hand to them; and not long after Oglethorpe's first Georgia expedition, fifty families of Moravians, who lived in the Archbishop's immediate vicinity and were exposed to his most direct onslaught, prepared to emigrate thither. They were promised free passage to Savannah, provisions for a year, land for themselves and their children, free for ten years and then subject to a small quit-rent, freedom of worship, and all other privileges of native Englishmen. Under these guarantees, and well provided with Bibles, hymn-books, and catechisms, the pilgrims set out for their land of promise on the last day of October, 1733.

Sought
for
Georgia

In Frank-
fort

They entered Frankfort-on-the-Main in a long procession, singing songs of triumph; for they were now among friends and fellow believers, and great kindness was showered upon them. They were provided with food and boats, in which they

floated down the Rhine; at Rotterdam they were again amid friends, and after resting a day or two embarked for Dover. There they were visited by several of the trustees, who provided for every want; but not until January could the necessary arrangements be made to set sail for the New World.

1733-4

Mora-
vians
reach
England

Though made in the depths of winter, the voyage was not a long or stormy one for that period. It was the 18th of March, 1734, when they arrived at Charlestown; the land and the islands were all clothed in the rich dark green of the semi-tropics. The voyagers were met by Oglethorpe; who was on his way to England, but after a day of rest and sight-seeing for them, accompanied them to Savannah, where they were comfortably provided for until a suitable place for their home could be found. As the ship came up the river, songs of praise arose from her decks—a new experience to the Western World, which must have aroused the phlegmatic wonder of the savage huntsmen in the surrounding forests.

Reach Sa-
vannah

It was their earnest desire to have a town and land of their own; and at Oglethorpe's request they appointed a committee to accompany him into the forest on the search. Several Indian guides were taken, and horses provided for the entire party; Oglethorpe shared all the hardships, and greatly enlivened the tedium of the journey by his wit and good nature. At night they camped around a blazing fire of pine-knots, and sang songs of praise while they ate the roasted game

Search-
ing for a
site

1734
Moravians
found
Ebenezer

killed during the day. At length a site was selected—rolling bluffs on the west bank of the Savannah, some distance above the city, which seemed to resemble their former home near Salzburg. Here they set up a pillar of stone, and called their town Ebenezer; for they said, “Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.”

Praise of
Ogle-
thorpe

In due time the remainder of the company were brought thither, and the new town was laid out and occupied. Of Oglethorpe and his kindness they could not say or think enough. “He bears a great love to the servants and children of God,” wrote one of their pastors. “He has taken care of us to the utmost of his ability. God has so blessed his presence and his regulations in the land, that others in many years would not have accomplished what he has brought about in one.”

Who goes
to Eng-
land in
1734

Others also spoke well of the Governor. “His undertaking will succeed,” wrote Governor Johnson of South Carolina; “for he nobly devotes all his powers to serve the poor, and rescue them from their wretchedness.” Few men connected with our early history bear a better reputation, or one more faithfully earned, than Governor Oglethorpe. The next month he sailed for England, taking with him Tomo-chichi, his wife Senauki, and their son Tooanakowki; also one of the Yamacraw war-captains named Hillispilli. On the first of August the native visitors had an interview with the King and Queen in Kensington Palace. They would have appeared in their native costume, but Oglethorpe, with more sophisticated

manners than good taste, induced them to wear a rather ludicrous combination of court dress and native decorations. The chief delivered this speech: 1734

“This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace which was long ago made with the English. I am come over in my old days, though I cannot live to see any advantage to myself; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Upper and the Lower Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and which flyeth around our nations; these feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there; and we have brought them over to leave with you, O great King, as a sign of everlasting peace. O great King, whatsoever words you shall say unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the kings of the Creek nations.”

Tomo-
chichi's
speech to
George II.

To this the King replied: “I am glad of this opportunity of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you come. I am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought me from them; and accept very gratefully this present as an indication of their good disposition to me and my people. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good correspondence between them and my own subjects, and shall be glad on any occasion

The
King's
reply

1734

to show you a mark of my particular friendship and esteem."

Tomo-
chichi to
Queen
Caroline

The old chieftain seemed more favorably impressed with Queen Caroline than with her stodgy consort; at the close of whose speech he turned to her and said: "I am glad to see this day, and to have the opportunity of seeing the mother of this great people. As our people are joined with your Majesty's, we humbly hope to find you the common mother and protectress of us and all our children."

Ogle-
thorpe's
praise of
Indian
character

Like most creditable men of the day, Oglethorpe was profoundly religious, and he wished to make the Indians Christian. He was an ardent admirer of their moral character. Of the Creek nation he said: "I have had many conversations with their chief men, the whole tenor of which shows there is nothing wanting to their conversion but one who understands their language well, to explain to them the mysteries of religion; for as to the moral part of Christianity they understand and assent to it. They abhor adultery, and do not approve of plurality of wives." He also remarked that theft, though frequent among some smaller tribes, was unknown amongst the Creeks; who likewise looked upon murder with abhorrence, although they did not regard the killing of an enemy as murder. In his estimation the two great obstacles to their becoming Christians were—revenge, which they classed as honor; and intemperance, which they acquired from white traders. "On both of these points," he continued,

Obstacles
to Chris-
ianizing
them

“they hear reason; and with respect to drinking of rum, I have weaned those near me a good deal from it. As for revenge, they say, as they have no executive power of justice amongst them, they are forced to kill the man who has injured them, in order to prevent others from doing the like; but they do not think that any injury, except adultery or murder, deserves revenge.”

1734-6

Revenge
the only
police
power
among
Indians

He therefore arranged while in England to have certain godly men sent to Georgia as missionaries; among them John and Charles Wesley, subsequently the founders of the Methodist Church. Charles went over as secretary to the Governor; but he was expected to exercise a religious influence equally with his more celebrated brother, a simple missionary. Their success in converting the Indians, however, was not appreciable. Tomo-chichi was familiar with the Christian character as exemplified by the English, both in America and England; and when the Wesleys approached him on the subject he replied: “You have Christians at Savannah; those are Christians also at Frederica. They get drunk. Christians beat men. They tell lies. Tomo-chichi is no Christian.”

The Wes-
leys sent
to
Georgia

Christian
action
discred-
its Chris-
tianity
with
Indians

On February 6, 1736, Oglethorpe sailed on his second voyage to America. This was called the Grand Embarkation, both from the number who went out and its importance to the colony's future. Besides the Wesleys there were three hundred emigrants; one hundred and seventy being German Moravians, who had learned the glorious

Ogle-
thorpe's
second
voyage

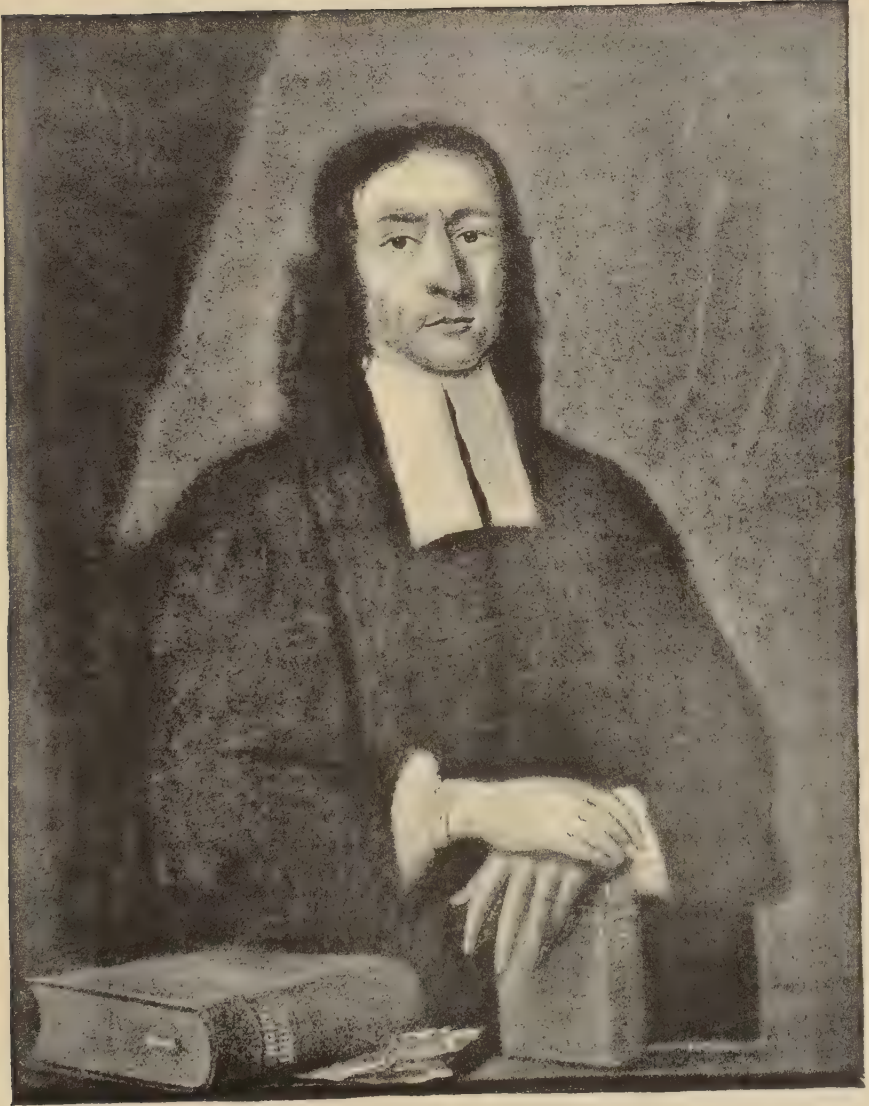
1736
John
Wesley
self-re-
buked by
Mora-
vians

outcome of their brethren's first adventure, and they were on their way to erect altars in the New Ebenezer. They proved an interesting study for the earnest and pious Wesleys. After associating with them for some time on this voyage, and observing the childlike faith they reposed in the heavenly Father, the founder of Methodism began to conclude that he was not yet converted, and condemned himself as a sinner and a hypocrite.

It had been Wesley's custom to commune once each week and fast twice. He visited the sick and the prisons, he gave largely to charity, and devoted much of his time to prayer, meditation, and self-examination. He now saw, by the reflection of his own weakness in the clear mirror of Moravian experience, that all these exercises, upon which he had hung his hopes of salvation, were mere worthless show—sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. He realized that his past life had been one of self-righteousness; and now he felt that he must live for others, rather than himself, if he would be truly a Christian.

Preach-
ing in
Georgia

When the company had landed, and the Moravians were departed to their own people, Wesley relapsed into his former views. He came like a firebrand among the people of Georgia; their sins, real and imaginary, he denounced without pity; and the standard of righteousness was his own views. The brothers succeeded, however, in gathering about them a small company of converts, who as adherents of the Established Church managed to stir up a world of mischief. Among them



JOHN WESLEY.

were two women whom misconduct had driven out of England, but who now professed great penitence and religious fervor. One of them infatuated Wesley; and when she subsequently married another man, he committed the indiscretion of denouncing her husband from the pulpit. This incident had much to do with his departure from Georgia.

1736-7

Wesley
in
feminine
toils

The Governor warned him against the danger of being misled by hypocritical pretenders to sanctity; but instead of profiting by the advice, Wesley bitterly denounced his friend from the pulpit. At length Oglethorpe himself fell under the influence of one of the aforesaid women, who persuaded him that Wesley was libeling his character and conspiring against the government, by fomenting rebellion among the colonists and intriguing with the Spaniards. Bitterness between the Wesleys and Oglethorpe grew out of this wicked and silly accusation; but the latter soon perceived the error, with his usual manliness apologized and made amends, and they remained devoted and affectionate friends throughout life.

Also
Ogle-
thorpeQuarrel
and re-
concili-
ation

In December 1737 John Wesley returned to England. He had manifested his extraordinary zeal by reading the service daily, by fording rivers and crossing swamps in quest of subjects to convert, by fasting, by sleeping on the bare ground, and by going barefooted among the children at school to hearten those who had no shoes. But his labors were neutralized by his austerity of manner, or by a lack of sympathetic entering into the

Wesley's
depart-
ure

1737
et seq.

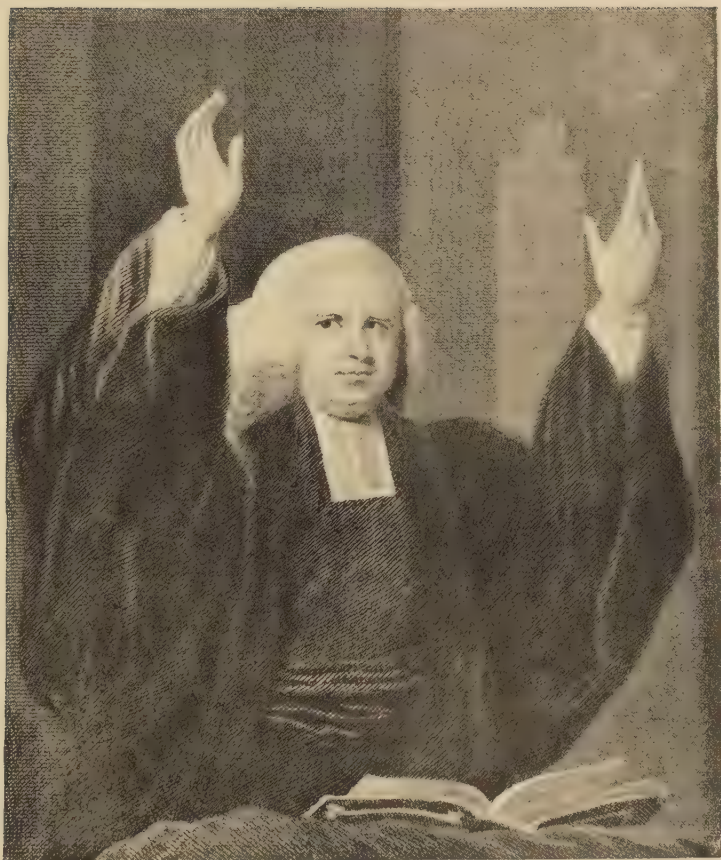
people's minds and needs of which the austerity was a symptom; and when he left the colony he could conscientiously assert that his efforts had been fruitless except in contention and strife.

George
White-
field

His friend and fellow-laborer George Whitefield took up the task which Wesley had abandoned. The Episcopal clergyman at Savannah announced his coming in a sermon based on the text, "Those who have turned the world upside down have come hither also," and launched upon his head all the current clerical bitterness of invective. But Whitefield was more than his match in using texts for missiles: he replied from the one, "Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works," and gave such a scathing and complete refutation that it turned public sentiment over to himself. Thereafter he had command of the public ear during his stay in Georgia. He was a more magnetic man than Wesley, and he exercised an influence in America which few men have ever equaled. He was so pleased with the climate and the hospitable inhabitants of Georgia that he established an orphan asylum and school at Savannah—still surviving; and during the rest of his life devoted a large part of his time and energies to their interests. The prevailing religious sentiment in America to-day in the Southern, and to some extent in the Central States, is founded largely on the teachings of this remarkable man. Through him Methodism spread throughout it, and has remained a great power there ever since.

Victo-
rious in
debate

Founder
of
Southern
Method-
ism



GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

Oglethorpe's absence during the formative period of his colony proved unfortunate for its interests and possibly character. The colonists, selected largely from the broken-down and ungovernable classes, possessed few of the qualifications for self-government: the many weak needed his strength to uphold them, the many turbulent to restrain them. Indeed, he had probably foreseen that, and intended a longer stay than his English interests allowed. With a considerable part, freedom and license meant the same thing: they were like children left suddenly without a guardian. The laws and rules framed by the trustees were too minute in their public and private regulations for such people to handle; yet in some respects they were excellent—even too far in advance of public sentiment to be maintained.

For instance, they prohibited slavery; not only as a crime against nature and religion (so Oglethorpe denounced it) and the fundamental law of England, but also as the certain ruin of the free workingman. The trustees, under Oglethorpe's influence, refused to countenance any measure that even connived at its introduction. This was the first determined English effort to crush the deplorable system; but it failed, for the reasons set forth under the Carolinas—slavery existed all about, and acclimated labor was lacking. Within little more than two years from the founding of the colony, the “better element”—meaning as always merely the richer and more successful element—petitioned the trustees for the privilege of

1734-6

Difficult-
ies of
self-gov-
ernmentTrustees
vainly
prohibit
slavery

1735
et seq.

Colonists
demand
slavery

importing slaves, that the resources of the territory might be properly developed; since a warm country abounding in swamps could not be successfully cleared and cultivated except by negro labor. They boldly asserted that slavery was a benefit to the African; that it brought him civilization, security, and comfort. There was just enough truth in this to make its predominant falsehood the more mischievous.

Argu-
ments re-
futed by
Moravian
success

Many of their arguments were refuted by the conditions among the Moravians. These prohibited any slaveholder from church membership, regarded slavery almost as a capital crime, and condemned its practices to the judgment of an angry God; yet their settlement had prospered more than any other in the province, and they were energetic and healthy for all the climate. In less than two years they had cleared large plantations and put them in a high state of cultivation; they repaid to the trustees the money advanced them, and assisted brethren to find homes in America; and at their own expense had established a mission and free school among the Creeks. By the beginning of 1736 they had attained a prosperity that made it necessary to enlarge the bounds of their settlement. This duty Oglethorpe personally superintended; and no sooner were the streets of the new town laid out, and the primitive huts covered with boards and boughs, than the inhabitants resumed their labors in the extension and improvement of their farms. They had already made indigo a staple of the colony, and

within a few years their production of raw silk amounted to more than ten thousand pounds a year. 1723-7

Similarly, the Scotch pioneers had not only prospered by their own labor, but had maintained the same vigorous health as among their native hills and glades. Both Scotch and Salzburgers joined in an earnest petition against the proposed introduction of slavery, denouncing it as both dangerous and inhuman. These discussions continued for several years; but slavery gradually forced its way into the province in spite of all protest.

High-landers and Moravians repel slavery

Another rule of the trustees which caused trouble was that prohibiting the introduction of rum; this was regarded by some of the settlers as an unwarranted invasion of their natural rights; and led to serious disturbances not only in the colony, but also between Georgia and South Carolina in 1737, during Oglethorpe's second absence in England. It was difficult to enforce when rum could be freely purchased by merely crossing the Savannah River into South Carolina. But the traders of that province were not satisfied to wait for the business to come to them. They were familiar with the large profits from selling rum to the Indians, crossed over and introduced it into the forbidden territory. Their boldness increased with their success; their first efforts to conceal the business were soon largely abandoned, and whole cargoes of contraband liquor were shipped across the river. In 1737 the magistrates at Savannah seized and imprisoned some traders who had been

Contest over rum traffic

1737

Smug-
gling of
rumCompro-
mise

smuggling rum up the river to Augusta, the head of navigation and then far out in the Indian country. The business was legitimate in the Carolinas, and this action produced an immediate clash between the two provinces. For a while civil war was threatened. The traders boldly proclaimed their right to sell their goods in any of the King's dominions, and their cause was championed by the Carolina officials and the people generally. The question is hardly settled even yet all through this country. The moral side of the question was not considered, for at that time it was not regarded as any more immoral to deal in rum than in food and clothing. The matter was finally adjusted by a compromise; the dealers were released, and the contraband trade flourished more than ever.

Land ten-
ures and
inherit-
ance

Another cause of disquiet was the character of land tenures. By ordinance of the trustees, women were incapable of inheriting landed property, which must descend by "tail male." If a proprietor died without male issue, his lands reverted to the trustees, that they might be again assigned to some male settler. The female heirs were not cut off from their fair right of inheritance, however: proportionate sums were paid to unmarried daughters; and widows were entitled during life to the mansion-house and half the improved land. The exclusion above was intended, in a new settlement whose life depended on its number of effective defenders (as anciently in feudal Europe), to prevent the holding of a large number of farms

by females, and the consolidation of estates by marriage of landed heiresses. But if the diffusion of property and multiplication of farms and farmers was the object of the trustees, they should have adopted the system of equal distribution among the heirs: they stultified this partial effort by clinging to the feudal fashion of exclusive heirship, which directly tended to produce massing of estates.

1733
et seq.

Mistaken
feudal-
ism

The various conditions caused some serious losses of population. Numerous families emigrated to the Carolinas, where they could purchase land in fee simple, buy or sell rum at pleasure, and acquire slaves to work for them. Gradually, however, both rum and negroes were introduced into Georgia. The law forbidding ownership of slaves was evaded by "hiring" them from the Carolina dealers; at first for short but regularly renewed terms, then for fifty and one hundred years, the "hired" servant being in fact a slave for life. Oglethorpe threw his whole weight against this iniquitous scheme, as well as against the introduction of rum; but he was not able to control either one. The Carolina tradesmen denounced him as actuated only by a determination to control the Indian trade; whereupon he offered them free license for such trade if they would give bond not to bring rum into the colony. But this they resented as a double wrong: not only was rum their most profitable stock in trade, but its use in muddling the brains of the savages made it much easier to obtain peltries on the traders'

Evading
slavery
pro-
hibition

Ogle-
thorpe
and the
rum
question

1733
et seq.

own terms. They therefore continued to revile Oglethorpe and smuggle in their goods despite him.

Moravians anti-war but become pro-slavery

As slave-owning increased and so became respectable, the moral sentiment against it died away with the social disrepute. Even the Moravians succumbed. In 1739 most of them removed to Pennsylvania on account of the threatened war with Spain. They would abandon their homes rather than surrender their non-resistance principles—for which they deserve ample credit, but they were too easily persuaded to embrace slavery as leading souls to Christ. Those who remained in Georgia became slaveholders with the other citizens.

Whitefield at first anti-slavery

Even Whitefield was led astray by this limping logic. He was at first horrified by what he saw of slavery here, and denounced it in unmeasured terms. "I was sensibly touched," he wrote about this time, "with a feeling for the poor Negroes. I wonder they have not more frequently risen up in arms against their owners. And although I heartily pray God they may never get the upper hand, yet should such a thing be permitted by Providence, all good men must acknowledge the judgment would be just." But he first endured and then embraced. The pretense that the negroes were being converted and civilized salved his conscience in joining the crowd. Oglethorpe's law was rigidly enforced, and would not permit him to own slaves in Georgia, but there was an open door just across the river; so Whitefield

purchased a plantation in South Carolina, and had it worked by slave labor for the benefit of his orphan home in Georgia—at the same time writing the trustees pathetic complaints of the inconvenience of the law, which compelled him to have his orphan asylum in one province and his slave farm in the other! He was no hypocrite, but his moral perceptions were deflected by his environment, as with most men.

1736
et seq.

White-
field
keeps
slaves to
benefit
orphans

The Highlanders' settlement at Fort Argyle has been related. Soon after Oglethorpe's first return to Georgia, another company of one hundred and fifty came to America and were given lands on the north bank of the Altamaha, which England claimed as the boundary with the Spanish settlements. They were encouraged to settle on the border because of their supposed fighting qualities: a notion then prevailed that a Highlander could whip almost any number of Spaniards. They built a town called New Inverness; and some distance away a fort called Darien—named in honor of their distinguished countryman William Paterson, the projector of the Bank of England (founded 1694), who in 1695 made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a Scotch colony on the Isthmus of Darien. Other companies followed, until the Scotch population of southeastern Georgia became considerable. They retained their clannish customs, and mingled little with the English or German colonists, but were very friendly and popular with the Indians. During the Spanish war soon after they fully sustained

High-
landers
in
Georgia

Tena-
cious
clan-
nishness

1736
Ogle-
thorpe
in kilts

their previous reputation, and proved an outpost of safety for the other settlements. Shortly before this Oglethorpe had visited them; and in compliment to them, as well as in memory of his mother who was connected with the house of Argyle, appeared before them in kilt and bonnet, greatly to their delight. This and his general urbanity of manner completely won their affections and continuing loyalty.

Visits
Mora-
vians

About the same time Oglethorpe paid a visit to the Moravians at Ebenezer; and by similar arts and his praise of their excellent system of agriculture strengthened himself likewise with these peaceful Germans, who were as proud of their farms as the warlike Highlanders of their military prowess.

Builds
fort on
St.
Simon's

One object of the Governor in making this general survey of the colony was to prepare for the expected Spanish invasion. On this errand he next proceeded southward in a small boat, through the narrow channels between the sea islands and the shore, forming as now a continuous inland waterway from the Savannah to the St. Mary's, a paradise for the hunter and the lover of nature, which enchanted him. Arriving at St. Simon's Island, he selected a site for a fort and a town near the mouth of the Altamaha, in an old field deserted by Spaniards or Indians; and burning off a space in the long grass, laid out the site of the future Frederica. Soon afterward he built a fort near by, in the centre of a bluff commanding the main channel. As it must soon resist

Spanish cannon-shot, he laid the foundations deep and strong enough for its task. It consisted of four bastions with connecting walls and ditches; the walls being of a cement concrete called "tabby," formed by mixing water and lime with shells and gravel, which when dried by the sun became almost as hard as granite, and was nearly impenetrable by the artillery of the time.¹ A town of considerable importance soon arose at Frederica; the houses at first temporary structures covered with pine boughs and palmetto leaves,—an excellent building material where cold does not have to be provided against. Some remains of the fortifications are still to be seen, but every vestige of the town has disappeared, as so often with Southern foundations.

1737

Ogle-
thorpe
founds
Frederica

These laid out, Oglethorpe proceeded southward, accompanied by some of the Highlanders. Passing the broad estuary of St. Simon's Sound, they sailed through a narrow channel between the shore and an island of wonderful beauty, now known as Jekyll Island, into the large open sound of St. Andrew's. This seemed almost like an inland sea, with the two rivers of Satilla and Little Satilla flowing into it. Sailing across, they entered the channel between Cumberland Island and the main shore, and followed it down to its junction with St. Mary's River. Here, on the southern point of the island, Oglethorpe marked out the

Fortifies
mouth
of St.
Mary's

¹ The Spaniards used it in all their principal American fortifications, of which remnants are still to be seen in several Southern places, notably St. Augustine.

1737 lines of a fort, to which he gave the name of St. Andrew's.

Ogle-
thorpe
claims
to St.
John's

Thence Oglethorpe continued his journey to the St. John's, which he claimed as the southern boundary of the British possessions; so notifying the Spanish authorities at St. Augustine, on the ground that at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, it was in possession of certain Indian tribes who had declared their allegiance to England. The Spaniards rejected the principle, protested vigorously against the invasion of their long undisputed territory, detained the messengers as prisoners, and sent a special messenger to say that a commissioner had arrived from Havana, empowered to confer with the English colonial authorities regarding the boundary question. Oglethorpe announced his willingness for the conference, but at the same time proceeded to erect another fort, St. George, at the mouth of the St. John's; this was soon afterward abandoned, however, both because the English government hesitated to assert its claim so far southward, and because the fort was so close to the Spanish stronghold that attack would be always imminent and retention uncertain. Oglethorpe then established the southern line of Georgia at the St. Mary's, where it has ever since remained.

Fortifies
its mouth

Bound-
ary com-
mission

On the arrival of the Spanish commissioner, the question of boundaries was fully discussed; but it was impossible to reach an amicable conclusion. The Spaniard demanded, haughtily and peremptorily, the immediate evacuation of all the

territory south of St. Helena's Sound, including all Georgia and much of South Carolina: unless this demand was instantly complied with, the King of Spain would take measures to vindicate his rights. Oglethorpe was equally firm in refusal, and the Spanish emissary departed with dire threats which seemed to indicate an early commencement of hostilities.

1737

Span-
iards
claim
into Ca-
rolinas

War had already broken out between France and the Empire, and England was expected to take part with the latter. The French governors of Louisiana and Canada had accordingly been notified to strike the English colonies wherever they could find a vulnerable point; and had events run their anticipated course, this continent would have been deluged with blood. Spain had agreed with France for a conquest of all the English territory in America and its division between them; and though the final result cannot be doubted, there would have been vast carnage and ravage. The situation was especially alarming with regard to Georgia, bordering the Spanish possessions: an inroad was already threatened, and was merely a matter of little time. Meanwhile peace was restored in Europe, and France was taken out of the coalition, but this did not affect Spain's attitude toward the English colonies. That country was regaining prosperity, and was a powerful factor in the politics of the world; and its rulers believed themselves strong enough alone to carry out their purposes, especially as the French colonial authorities would be passive friends.

France
plans on-
set in
English
colonies

To divide
con-
quests
with
Spain

Spain re-
solved to
act alone

1737 Amid these alarming conditions, Oglethorpe's greatness of soul arose supreme. He was determined to be ready for the beginning, and hold out to the last. The home government had appropriated \$50,000 to help defray the expenses of his coast forts; and he pushed them forward with a vigor that soon put them in condition to repel any sudden assault. But he had no trained soldiers to defend them, and there were few men in the colony fit for the service. Lack of stamina was the very cause that had brought the main English companies thither. The Salzburgers (Moravians) were brave and hardy enough, but they had come to America under a special contract not to have any kind of military service required from them, as contrary to their religion. Seeing now that they might be forced to fight in defense of their homes and families, a majority abandoned all they had acquired in the Southland and emigrated empty-handed to Pennsylvania. The only real fighting men upon whom Oglethorpe could rely were the Highlanders and the friendly Indians.

Oglethorpe prepares for war

Scanty militia

Moravians flee

Oglethorpe claims fresh Indian promise

The latter not only had a long-ingrained hatred for the Spaniards, but a high esteem and affection for himself; desiring, however, to be assured of his standing with them, he called a grand council of their principal war-chiefs, and having explained the situation, requested them to reaffirm fidelity. This they did in their most impressive style: arraying themselves in full panoply of paint and feathers, they danced the

war-dance in the streets of Savannah, and vowed eternal friendship to the great white chief. Oglethorpe felt that he could depend upon them to aid the Highlanders in defending the colony against any sudden attack; and departed for England to solicit a regiment of trained soldiers, and if possible to arouse the King and his ministers to a sense of the impending danger.

1737-8

Ogle-
thorpe
goes to
England
for help

These events occurred during the summer and fall of 1737; but nearly a year elapsed before Oglethorpe was able to attain results justifying his return. Sir Robert Walpole was at the head of the government, and his motto was "peace." At length, however, Oglethorpe succeeded in getting the major part of what he had requested. Parliament voted an additional \$100,000 for the defense of his province; he was commissioned a brigadier-general,—his military jurisdiction embracing South Carolina as well as Georgia,—and authorized to enlist and equip a regiment of six hundred men. A bounty of twenty-five acres of land in advance was given by the Georgia trustees to each soldier, in addition to his regular pay; and this enabled Oglethorpe to fill the ranks with men enlisted for seven years, affording time to train and harden them into efficiency. Meanwhile they might take their families with them to America, and begin improving their little farms at once.

Obtains
some

Regular
regiment
—boun-
ties

In due time Oglethorpe sailed on his return at the head of a force which he felt made him practically master of the situation. At Savannah he was greeted with bonfires and salvos of cannon,

Returns
to
Georgia

1738

Military
prepara-
tions in
Georgia

the people wild with enthusiasm over him and his brigade of regulars; but their demonstrations cooled materially when he informed them that he had been unable to secure any change in land tenures, and that if slaves were introduced into the colony he would leave it. Still, he was their one bulwark and popular for his past great services; and they obeyed his orders with alacrity in preparing for the war with Spain, which every one now realized was inevitable. His regiment was thoroughly drilled; companies of militia were formed and put in condition for active service; and the Highlanders went through their manœuvres each day in expectation of attack. The whole settlement, except the non-resistant Moravians, assumed the aspect of a military camp. The people were making ready for a desperate fight, and when the time came they did themselves full credit.

Span-
iards
solicit
Indian
help

Ogle-
thorpe
goes to
counter-
act them

Meanwhile the Governor learned from his confidential Indian friends that the Spaniards had sent emissaries to the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, to rouse them against the English; and resolved to attend their grand council at Coweta, three hundred miles northwest of Savannah, during the summer of 1739, and learn their exact purposes from their chiefs. Tomo-chichi and other steadfast friends advised this course, and agreed to accompany him, although they admitted that it was a dangerous adventure, for no one knew how far the Spanish intrigues had progressed. Oglethorpe decided to place himself

completely at the mercy of his savage friends, by advancing into their country accompanied only by a small retinue of his personal servants, so as to impress them with the sincerity of his faith in their good intentions. 1738

Accompanied by only four attendants, in addition to his Indian guides and companions, Oglethorpe ventured into the unbroken wilderness, never before trod by the foot of a white man. Nearly a month was consumed in the journey to and from the council-town, during which time Oglethorpe and his party passed completely out of the knowledge of the colonists. It is the only journey of the kind recorded in our colonial history; Oglethorpe was apparently the only man who had faith enough in the Indians' sincerity to put their professions to the test. He was wholly unprovided with tents or any of the usual comforts of camp life, but slept at night on the bare ground, or on a bed of leaves and twigs. The company depended for food upon the game killed each day. In all respects they adopted the Indian method of traveling, burdening themselves only with their arms and ammunition. Their route led them parallel with the larger streams, so that they had but few to cross; but many considerable creeks and rivulets had to be waded or crossed on improvised rafts.

Ogle-
thorpe's
wilder-
ness
journey

Oglethorpe's trust in the faith of the natives, and his ability to overcome whatever dangers might beset his path, was sublime. The tribes he was about to visit could place in a single day more

1738

Ogle-
thorpe at
Congress
of
Southern
Indians

Secures
alliance
against
Span-
iards

Flatters
them for
prowess

than seven thousand warriors in the field, and were noted as among the fiercest and most daring of all the red men of America. Yet the white chief hesitated not as he approached their council-town. As he entered the magic circle of the council, he was greeted with shouts of friendship and applause. Grim war-chiefs, in all the dignity of paint and feathers, crowded forward to greet and welcome him. His credentials were not only his past repute, but the courage and confidence in the natives which had brought him into their midst. He was lavishly feasted, and treated as a most distinguished visitor; and he gained the chief object of his visit. These tribes indeed had no motive in breaking with the English for the sake of the hated Spaniards; and when he departed, it was with the assurance that in the coming struggle he could count on these brave men as his faithful allies.

Only a short time before, the Creeks and Chickasaws had repelled a French invasion with great courage and considerable military skill; and Oglethorpe took occasion to compliment them thereon, —praise from an expert white commander which was peculiarly sweet. He remained with them for some days, feasting and drinking and smoking; during which time each party recounted the great deeds of their own people. Oglethorpe then distributed among chiefs and people such presents as he had been able to bring through the forest, promising more and better when they visited him in his own settlement. On their part, the chiefs

for their several tribes entered into a solemn covenant renewing their ancient friendship for the English, and assigning to them all the lands along the Savannah and westward to the Ogeechee, and along the coast to the St. John's and inward as far as the tide flowed. The Creeks were to retain their hunting privileges from the sea to the mountains, in all that region they had previously inhabited; and they agreed to unite with the English in forever barring the Spaniards from that domain.

1738-9

Ogle-
thorpe's
new
Indian
treaty—
land
cessions

But the Spanish emissaries had not confined their efforts to the savages: they had been active also in stirring up a servile insurrection in South Carolina. Oglethorpe had scarcely returned from his expedition into the Indian country, and recovered from the dangerous sickness that followed, when he found himself in the midst of a civil war that threatened the destruction of the white settlements—for Georgia was involved equally with South Carolina. The situation was excessively dangerous: the slaves numbered more than forty thousand, while their oppressors did not exceed five to six thousand. The Spaniards by secret agents promised the negroes freedom and citizenship in Florida if they would run away: of course all who could do so accepted the tempting offer, and numerous parties were shortly making their way through Georgia to the Spanish possessions. More than five hundred had succeeded in getting through, and were settled in a colony near St. Augustine, where lands had been granted them.

Span-
iards
stir up
negro
insur-
rection

1738

These sent word back to their kindred, thus assuring them of Spanish good faith; and this added a new impetus to the uprising.

Spaniards
incite
bloody
negro
insurrection

The Spanish governor of Florida now organized a regiment of them, allowing them to choose their own officers, and giving them the same pay and uniform as regular Spanish soldiers. This masterly step roused the whole body of South Carolina negroes, who could not know that the Spaniards were the worst slave-drivers in the world, and would probably re-enslave them all as soon as they were done using them. For weeks they had been escaping in small parties; but with these brilliant prospects the insurrection, having gained force and cohesion, assumed alarming proportions. Numerous armed parties marched through Georgia, devastating the plantations and killing all the whites who dared to oppose their progress. Oglethorpe, however, quickly put his military force in motion; and wherever the soldiers came across one of these marauding parties, they were seized and returned to their masters: averse as Oglethorpe was to slavery, he could not let ex-slaves exterminate civilization or remain wandering brigands.

Oglethorpe
acts
against it

Rising in
South
Carolina

At length a large party of negroes banded themselves together in South Carolina, and forcing their way into one of the public magazines, armed themselves and made a desperate attack on the white population, a number of whom were killed. The insurgents then started southward; but having captured a storehouse filled with casks

of rum, they were soon in a helpless state of intoxication. In this condition they were attacked by a party of whites under Governor Bull, many slaughtered, and the remainder placed in irons and punished with varying degrees of severity, some being publicly executed as a warning to their fellows. By such measures the uprising was soon quelled. For a time, however, fugitives continued to hide in the swamps and the dense forests of pine and palmetto, whence they emerged at night in quest of food and committed many outrages. These wretches were hunted and shot down like wild beasts, until once more safety was restored.

1738-9

Negro revolt put down

The negro insurrection was hardly suppressed when the final rupture came between Spain and England, and the southern colonies found themselves involved in the contest they had foreboded upon their own borders.

The ultimate cause of the "War of Jenkins' Ear,"¹ which finally merged itself in the vast War of the Austrian Succession involving all Europe, was Spain's insistence in maintaining territorial pretensions against England in the New World long after events had made them fossil curios, and refusing to recognize accomplished facts by a reasonable delimitation. This made her

War of Jenkins' Ear

¹ So called because a certain Captain Robert Jenkins or Jenkyns greatly inflamed English feeling by exhibiting the stump of his ear, and alleging that it had been cut off by the Spaniards;—he was a vagabondish and piratical adventurer, and probably lost it in the pillory. When asked before Parliament what his feelings were while in the hands of the Spaniards, he replied, "I commended my soul to God and my cause to my country"—which made an immense hit. The war, however, had much deeper causes and better justifications.

1739, etc.

commerce with her American colonies an outlaw from English comity, and it was well-nigh destroyed by English smuggling and technical piracy. Spain attempted redress by exercising the right of search on English vessels—of course with endless kidnapping and other outrages, and the charge of many which did not occur.

Causes of
Anglo-
Spanish
war

An English clamor for war, ostensibly on this ground, forced Philip V. to agree to a convention in January 1739; mutual indemnities were assigned, but the two main irritants, the right of search and the boundary dispute, were not even mitigated:—this in spite of Spain's open threat and unconcealed preparations to invade the southern colonies. She would withdraw none of her territorial claims; and Walpole, with a discreditable lack of firmness, agreed that all work on the fortifications in Georgia and the Carolinas should cease until the matter could be adjusted by commissioners. Such an agreement amounted to nothing: the colonies could not consent to remain in a defenseless state with a powerful and arrogant foe at their very doors. Moreover, the English were eager for an open rupture with Spain upon any pretext; and the colonists were glad to have the contest come with the support of the mother country, in the hope of ending the Spanish danger once for all.

Colonies
sacrificed
as usual

Spain
obstinate

Philip evaded the main issue: he refused to renounce his right of search. This took the life out of the negotiations; and as soon as the result of the convention was known, public sentiment in

England became rampant. Walpole and the ministry were derided and insulted. The merchants of the principal cities addressed the House of Commons with long petitions against the ratification of the convention, and the trustees of Georgia appealed to the King (George II.) to take effective measures for the protection of their province. Philip delayed the payment of the promised indemnity; it became impossible for Walpole to longer ignore public sentiment, and on the 19th of October, 1739, England declared war.

1739

English
eager for
war with
Spain

War
declared

The announcement was hailed with the wildest demonstrations of joy throughout the United Kingdom: the war fever had reached its climax, the midnight sky was illuminated by the glare of bonfires, and the recruiting stations were crowded with youths eager to enlist for the war. Admiral Vernon was dispatched with his squadron to the West Indies, and Oglethorpe was instructed to operate vigorously against the Spaniards in Florida. Vernon's performances were disastrous, and his failure hampered and eventually defeated Oglethorpe's expedition against St. Augustine; but not until he had strikingly proved his military ability. Had he been properly sustained by the home government, he would have driven the Spaniards out of Florida, and put an end to Spanish dominion on the Atlantic Coast, saving a very unpleasant episode in our history later.

General
results

Some time before, Oglethorpe made the alarming discovery that his own regiment had been tampered with by the Spaniards, who bid above

Span-
iards
bribe
English
soldiers

1739-40

Span-
iards
incite
murder
of Ogle-
thorpe

the English government's offer in lands and pay. A number of the soldiers had served at Gibraltar, where they learned Spanish and formed social relations; and some of these swallowed the bait. The first intimation of trouble was an unsuccessful attack on the general's life; he began a rigorous investigation, and succeeded in discovering the ringleaders, who were court-martialed and executed. The mutiny was nipped in the bud.

Colonies
hear
declara-
tion of
warOgle-
thorpe
again
claims
the St.
John'sInvades
Florida

The declaration of war was not known in the colonies for some time. Vernon brought the information with his fleet, and it created almost as much colonial as English enthusiasm, for reasons given above. At first the fleet gave a moral support to Oglethorpe's armies; but its miserable fiasco brought the English power into contempt, and made the Spaniards bolder than if it had never appeared. Oglethorpe at once began vigorous preliminaries to an invasion. He proclaimed the extension of Georgia once more to the St. John's, and his determination to make it effective. As his commission embraced also South Carolina, which would at once be overflowed by the Spaniards if Georgia were beaten, he applied to that colony for assistance in a combined movement to forestall the enemy, by attacking their stronghold at St. Augustine before they could be reinforced from Cuba. He did not wait for a response, but at the beginning of 1740 he entered Florida at the head of his own forces and his Indian allies. It might have been wiser to wait for the sister colony's men, which would have given him forces

enough to insure success; still, the most brilliant victories have often been won by quick and unexpected movements. Had the other features of the expedition been managed with equal wisdom and energy, it would have resulted in a splendid triumph. 1739-40

Dressed like the common soldiers, and sharing all their dangers and duties, Oglethorpe inspired his whole army with his own indomitable spirit, and led them rapidly forward. It was the season most suitable for campaigning in that southern climate. As he advanced, the general was informed that the garrison at St. Augustine was short of provisions, and had not yet received the expected reinforcements from Havana. This cheering news inspired the troops with fresh courage, and they pushed on with shouts of anticipated victory. A small fort called Diego, about twenty-five miles above St. Augustine, was quickly invested, and surrendered after a few hours. Leaving sixty men to garrison it, Oglethorpe hurried forward with the remainder to within two miles of St. Augustine, where they took possession of the strong fortress of Moosa, abandoned at their approach. The Spanish commander had withdrawn all his forces to the inner works, and made preparations to stand a siege until relieved. Oglethorpe moves against St. Augustine

Oglethorpe's force was much too small to invest the place; and his Indian allies, who constituted his main body, were unsuited to this slow and methodical work. They would soon grow weary, and perhaps desert in a body. He therefore sailed Occupies outworks

Seeks reinforcements

1740 at once for Charlestown, to expedite the white reinforcements from there. His presence in that city was badly needed; for his splendid success—advancing into the enemy's country and capturing two important fortresses—had led the Carolinas to cease preparation, in the belief that he would soon end the war without their assistance. He disabused their minds of this dangerous fallacy, whereupon the Assembly voted an appropriation and placed their best regiment under his command. Virginia and North Carolina also aided by sending a regiment of four hundred trained men under the brave Dutch Colonel Vanderdussen, and a considerable body of friendly Indians; while Post-Captain Price promised his co-operation with four twenty-gun ships and two sloops of war. Oglethorpe began to feel a reasonable assurance of success, and returned to Florida with anticipation of almost certain victory.

Again at
St. Augustine

At the mouth of the St. John's he was joined by the Virginia and North Carolina regiment and a new company of Highlanders, so that he was able to appear before St. Augustine on the 9th of May at the head of about two thousand effective men. Considering the slow means of transportation, the distances he had traveled, and the tremendous amount of work he had accomplished, this shows remarkable capacity for leadership. He had purposed to carry the town by assault, but a careful reconnaissance convinced him that the loss of life would be too great, and he reverted to his former plan of a regular siege. This was an error of

Decides
on siege

judgment due to humanity, and robbed him of certain success. A determined attack with this strong force would have carried the works, for the Spaniards were in no condition to resist it. He disposed his troops advantageously for beginning the approaches, however, and sent a demand for surrender to the Spanish commandant, Monteano, to avoid unnecessary bloodshed by yielding at once, as escape was impossible. Monteano returned a polite reply, saying he would be glad to meet General Oglethorpe and shake hands with him in the castle.

1740

St. Augustine summoned to surrender

The South Carolina ships were now lying off the bar, and enabled Oglethorpe to completely blockade the place. Ninety-five Highlanders and a small body of Indians were stationed at Fort Moosa, to scour the woods around and prevent provisions from reaching the besieged; while Vanderdussen's regiment was ordered to fortify a neck of land called Point Quarrel, about a mile from the castle. Oglethorpe himself, with his own regiment and the main body of Indians, crossed over the channel to Anastasia Island, to bombard the castle from thence; but his artillery was not heavy enough for effective service at that distance. Most of the shot either fell short, or dropped back harmlessly from the hard walls of "tabby." The Spaniards laughed at his discomfiture and gained fresh courage. The artillery duel was continued several days, and a number of balls from the English guns fell in the town; but no damage of any consequence was done on either side.

Investment

Ineffective bombardment

1740 The Spanish commander kept his eyes about him; observing the small force at Fort Moosa, he made a sally against it and slew nearly all of the Highlanders. This practically left the way open in that direction, for the Indians were of little value when not supported by white men. The sortie bore other ill consequences for Oglethorpe. Some of his Chickasaws captured a straggling Spaniard, whose head they cut off and carried as a present to the general. Oglethorpe was horrified and disgusted, and calling the Indians "barbarous dogs," ordered them out of his sight. The act was highly creditable to his humanity, but impolitic: the savages had expected to please him and be complimented, and were furious at being driven out in disgrace. "The French would have treated us differently," they declared, "had we carried them the head of an Englishman." The news quickly spread through the whole detachment of the Chickasaws, and they marched back home. Other bands of savages—fickle by nature, weary of the siege, and probably not sorry for a pretext—also abandoned the expedition; until in a short time the whites were left almost alone.

Span-
iards re-
capture
outworks
of St. Au-
gustine

Ogle-
thorpe
alienates
Indians

Who de-
sert him

Caro-
linians
leave
also

It was now toward the last of June, and the heat was becoming intense, producing much sickness. The Carolinians were the first to become disheartened, and returned in a body to their own province, leaving Oglethorpe with no army except the remaining Highlanders and his Georgia regiment. The commander of the fleet now represented that his ships were not victualed for a

THE
Spanish Hireling
DETECTED;

BEING
A REFUTATION

OF THE
Several CALUMNIES and FALSHOODS
in a late *Pamphlet*, Entitul'd

An Impartial ACCOUNT of the Late
EXPEDITION against *St. Augustine*
under General OGLETHORPE.

By GEORGE CADOGAN, *Lieutenant in*
General OGLETHORPE's Regiment.

These are the Ungrateful, the Liars, the Flatterers who
commend Vice, the malicious Censurers who endeavour
to fully the brightest Virtue; in fine, those who
have rashly pass'd Sentence without considering Things,
and thereby have prejudiced the Reputation of the Innocent.

CAMBRAY's *Telemachus.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-lane.*

M DCC XLIII.

[Price 1 s.]

longer stay, and that the approach of the hurricane season made it dangerous to remain; so he too hoisted sail and departed. 1740

Oglethorpe's ranks were so reduced by sickness that the remnant was in a very precarious condition; and had the Spanish commander ventured a fresh sortie, he might have captured or destroyed the whole force. But he was probably unaware of its condition. Just before the ships' departure, he had received from Havana a fresh supply of provisions and a reinforcement of seven hundred men, who had contrived to break through the blockade. His force was now much larger than the English; and his troops, inured to the climate, were in excellent fighting condition, while Oglethorpe's remnant was composed almost entirely of invalids. A more critical situation could hardly be imagined; and the English commander deserves vast credit for successfully extricating his men and bringing them safely home. Oglethorpe himself was desperately sick with a fever, and was utterly dejected and heart-broken when he arrived at Frederica in July. Spanish reinforcements
Oglethorpe raises siege of St. Augustine

So far as he was concerned, the expedition had been handled with admirable military talent, courage, and judgment; it was a disastrous failure through the shortcomings of others. The South-Carolinians especially were loud in their complaints against the general, whom they accused of cowardice and incompetency; he retorted by reminding them that they were the first to leave the field, and that their desertion was the cause of the Recriminations

1740 failure of the campaign. We need not now open up old recriminations.

Vernon's
disas-
trous bad
judgment

The real incompetent of that campaign was Admiral Vernon, who, through a fortunate combination of circumstances or a peculiar sensitiveness of history, escaped the censure that his weakness as a commander justified. He arrived at Jamaica January 9, 1740, with fifteen thousand sailors and twelve thousand land troops, all thoroughly armed and equipped. There he lay, his ships rotting in the tropical seas, until near the end of the month. Havana was but three days' sail distant, and he could have captured it by simply going there and demanding its surrender, for the Spaniards would have yielded to his superior force without a blow. The possession of Havana would have made England mistress of the West Indies; but instead of grasping the opportunity, the admiral insisted on hunting imaginary fleets of the Spaniards and French.

Avoids
Havana

Besieges
Carta-
gena

Finally, with a fleet of twenty-nine ships of the line and about eighty smaller vessels,—a force large enough, had it been in the hands of a man of ability, to have swept the Spaniards from the Western seas,—he sailed off on a fruitless chase to the southwestern confines of the Caribbean Sea, and laid siege to Cartagena, the most strongly fortified place in Spanish America. The Spaniards had spent \$29,000,000 in building forts in and around it, and it possessed less strategic importance to the English than almost any other Spanish town on either continent. It was about

the only place that Vernon's fleet was incompetent to capture, and the prevalence of yellow fever made it peculiarly unfit for military operations by men from England and the British colonies of North America. The hope of "loot" was probably at the bottom of the choice.

1740-1

Why Cartagena was besieged

Vernon's forces rapidly melted away in that fatal climate. Within three days thirty-four hundred men died of disease. The total loss of the campaign was estimated at twenty thousand, of whom only a few hundred fell by the enemy's bullets. Finally, late in November, the expedition returned to Jamaica, with scarcely men enough to handle the ships. The colonies had contributed a number of their best regiments; very few of the men ever came back except as walking shadows and confirmed invalids. In the March following, Vernon sailed again into the deadly seas of the Isthmus, with the avowed purpose of capturing Panama—with Havana still hanging like a ripe apple ready to fall into his hand; but he found the place strongly fortified, and sailed back again without attacking it. This ended his operations in American waters, and he proceeded homeward with the sickly remnants of his forces, land and naval.

Dreadful fiasco

Inglorious retreat from Panama

The British forces had inflicted less harm on the Spaniards than they had themselves suffered from the incapacity of their leader, and had merely exposed the southern colonies to the vengeance of the Spaniards. So long as Vernon's fleet remained in American waters, it served to some extent as

Colonies bear the brunt

1741-2
Ogle-
thorpe
prepares
to defend
Georgia

a menace to the Spaniards; but immediately after its departure, they began to concentrate their forces for an invasion of Georgia. Oglethorpe saw the coming of the storm, and did what he could to prepare for it. A less resourceful and determined man would have yielded to despair; while an incompetent one like Vernon would have involved his country in ruin. But a brilliant success awaited the gallant leader of the Georgians.

Span-
iards pre-
pare to
overrun
it and
Caro-
linas

In May 1742 two thousand veteran Spanish troops were embarked at Havana for St. Augustine, under the command of Don Antonio de Rodondo. The transports were protected by a strong convoy of Spanish men-of-war; for Vernon's fleet was still dreaded, although it was then plowing the waters toward England. Oglethorpe was informed of this movement, and realizing that it meant an invasion of both provinces in force, applied to South Carolina for assistance. But he was rebuffed: that colony was still mourning its losses in the Cartagena campaign, and sore from its acrimonies.

Ogle-
thorpe's
prepa-
rations

Instead of repining or yielding to despair, Oglethorpe was nerved to still greater efforts by the danger. Had he known the size of the Spanish force, he might have felt it folly to attempt resistance; but as quickly as possible he gathered at Frederica all the forces he could command,—his regiment, the Highlanders, a small body of rangers, and a varying force of Indians. Indentured servants were promised release from the remainder of their terms, and liberal rewards

were pledged for notable valor. Special inducements suited to the red men were offered them. Fortifications were strengthened, boats and galleys impressed and manned, and the weaker garrisons reinforced. 1742

A Spanish fleet appeared off the coast in June. On the 21st the smaller vessels, and the galleys built especially to navigate the shallow waters of the Georgia coast, entered Amelia Sound near the mouth of the St. Mary's. Ensign Alexander Stuart in command of Fort William, and Captain Dunbar of the guard schooner, successfully repelled the enemy. The next day the Spaniards appeared off St. Simon's Sound. Oglethorpe at once ordered Captain Horton, with a mixed force of militia and Indians, to join the forces on Cumberland Island, and sent a body of cavalry to patrol the coast and prevent an attack upon Fort St. Simon's. Two companies were added to its garrison; but the enemy, after their demonstration in that quarter, made a sudden descent upon Cumberland Sound about twenty miles south, and endeavored to entrap Oglethorpe, who with three galleys had followed the forces sent to Cumberland Island.

Spanish
fleet oper-
ates on
Georgian
coast

At Cum-
berland
Sound

The odds were heavy—fourteen against three, and one of these commanders a traitor or a coward. The Governor's little fleet was almost surrounded and seemed in danger of capture, when Lieutenant Tolson, in command of the largest boat, slunk away into a neighboring inlet, where he remained hidden until the next day. But

Coward-
ice of an
English
captain

1742

Ogle-
thorpe
destroys
Spanish
naval
detach-
ment

Oglethorpe's spirit rose to the occasion: undismayed by this desertion, he placed his boat in the lead and boldly broke through the line of galleys, firing right and left with such vigor that four of them were sunk and the remainder driven ashore disabled. The victory was complete as brilliant. Landing first at St. Andrew's, on the upper point of Cumberland Island, he took its garrison into his boats had conveyed them to Fort William, as the Spanish ships were evidently intending to attack the latter. Returning to headquarters, he arrested Tolson for cowardice. This prompt action and his striking triumph combined to daunt the poltroons, and aroused a wonderful enthusiasm among the rest.

Spanish
fleet ma-
nœuvres
for
landing

As soon as the wind was favorable, the entire Spanish fleet sailed into St. Simon's Bay, receiving and returning the fire from the batteries on the opposite headlands. In the harbor Oglethorpe had an insignificant fleet, consisting of a merchant vessel with twenty guns and two schooners of fourteen guns each; on the ship he placed one hundred and ten men, and eighty on each of the schooners. There were also eight small "York sloops" riding at anchor in the bay: to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy he placed a single man on board each, with orders to sink or run them ashore if in danger of capture. But the object of the Spaniards was to get into the river and effect a landing, rather than destroy the vessels, which therefore escaped. Twice, however, they attempted to board the merchant ship

and one of the schooners, but were repulsed with heavy loss.

1742

The fighting of the English was superb. Not more than half of Oglethorpe's force could be brought into action, so that he had less than five hundred men opposed to five thousand. But the commander was a host within himself: he seemed to be ubiquitous, and was ever in the hottest part of the fight. At length, however, the Spaniards forced their way through all opposition by mere weight of numbers; and they having passed out of reach of the shore batteries, Oglethorpe ordered all his men ashore. Then, addressing the sailors, he thanked them for the courage they had displayed, and advised them to make their way to Charleston; after which he dismantled the batteries, spiked the guns, and withdrew all his remaining force in safety to Frederica.

Ogle-
thorpe
inflicts
loss on
Spanish
landing
party

This place was located on the northern point of St. Simon's Island, about ten miles from the Highland settlement at Darien. Its fortifications had been well planned. Navigation of the bay was difficult, and the batteries were arranged to sweep any ships attempting to enter or leave. At one point, called the "Devil's elbow," no vessel could pass without "going about," and while this manœuvre was in process, the batteries could rake its decks from three directions at once. The Spaniards had not the courage to attempt this passage, which would be going to slaughter; so, erecting a battery at their first landing and establishing their base of supplies, they proceeded

Spanish
dare not
attempt
Frederica

1742 northward to Gascoin's Bluff, about five miles below Frederica. Here the entire force of five thousand was landed, to attack the English works from the rear.

Natural
ambush
around
Frederica

Immediately surrounding Frederica, and extending two or three miles southward, was an open prairie and high ground; and south of this a tangled forest so dense that armed men could not manœuvre in it, with a winding road passing through it, on one side of which was an impassable morass. At one point the road made a crescent-shaped curve, occupying a space only sixty feet wide, while the two points of the crescent came so close together that men stationed there could pour a murderous fire from both sides into any force attempting to pass, and be at the same time entirely concealed and secure from a return fire. The peculiar strength of the place, this second Thermopylæ, had not been overlooked by the watchful keenness of Oglethorpe.

The
crescent

Ogle-
thorpe
meets
Spanish
force

On the road south of the crescent, upon the day of his retreat, the general stationed a small body of troops supported by a few of the Indian allies. The location suited the peculiar strategy of the latter, and Oglethorpe relied on this force holding the Spaniards in check until he could man the crescent with a great ambush; but early the next morning, the Spaniards advanced in such force as to drive the little band before them to the southern entrance of the crescent. Here they were met by the general with a small body of reinforcements—for he had not men enough to

await assault at any one spot, but must thwart the enemy's moves as they made them; and a desperate battle ensued, the Spaniards being unable to use their overwhelming forces from the narrowness of the road. Oglethorpe assailed them with such impetuosity that he drove them back to an open space, where they could deploy and outflank his little party with ten to one. Not daring to attack them in such a place, he withdrew to the southern point of the crescent, and leaving a small party there, hurried back to Frederica to guard against an anticipated attack by the fleet. He believed that the effort from the south was merely a feint; he did not suppose for a moment that the Spaniards would make their principal attack from that point, which possessed the only advantages in his favor. But they had in fact resolved to turn the batteries at Frederica, by bringing on their entire force by land.

It should be remembered, in considering these extraordinary movements, that even the few hundred men at Oglethorpe's disposal were by no means trained soldiers; while the overwhelming Spanish thousands were the flower of their army, still considered among the finest soldiers the world could produce. It seemed folly to attempt resistance against such odds; and it would have been, had not the advantages of a superb leadership been on the side of the English. The Spaniards made a serious mistake in attempting to utilize their immense forces on land, for in this country of swamps and forest a large force was in

1742

Ogle-
thorpe
mistakes
Spanish
purpose

Spanish
superior-
ity neu-
tralized

1742 battle only a number of small ones, each easily matched by a small opposing one.

Ogle-
thorpe's
main
body flies
in panic

After remaining several hours at Frederica, and observing no movement by the ships, the general hurried back toward the crescent, with a few of his mounted men. About a mile north of the defile he met his troops retreating in a disordered mass. They knew their hazard if caught between the horns of the crescent, and had fled through to avoid it. On reaching a place of safety, they were in such confusion that their officers could not rally them. Oglethorpe, however, stemmed the flying mass, and by representing the impossibility of a few hundred men resisting five thousand in the open plains around Frederica, succeeded in rallying the best of them, whom he led back through the woods toward the crescent.

Rallied
by Ogle-
thorpe

High-
landers
remain

Scarcely had they started on their return march when the sound of guns and the shouts of combatants were borne to them from the south, and it was instantly realized that a desperate battle was taking place in the deadly defiles beyond them. Could the Spaniards have fallen upon one another in a sudden mutiny? The mystery of the combat was inexplicable to Oglethorpe himself, for he supposed that all his men were in the body he had met retreating. But the Highlanders were not there. A company of these splendid fighters, under Lieutenants McKay and Southerland, had composed the rear-guard of the English force. Undismayed by the flight of the main body, they marched sullenly after, watchful

of any opportunity to take advantage of the enemy. As they entered the southern point of the crescent, their fleeing companions were passing out of the northern end only a few yards distant. 1742

Here was the opportunity: both the Scottish lieutenants saw it at the same moment, and their plans were formed as if by intuition. Dividing their little force into two equal parties, and joined by a few of the Indians equally unaffected by the panic, they concealed a party at each end of the crescent, and distributed the remainder of the men in the woods opposite the morass throughout its entire length. The arrangement had hardly been made when the Spaniards came on in the full flush of victory, and soon filled the crescent. Observing the disordered English remnant flying across the plain, they supposed the fighting was at an end, and that they could occupy Frederica at leisure. They therefore halted unsuspecting in the fatal half-circle, stacked their muskets, and began to make preparations for breakfast—for they had eaten nothing that morning. This was the moment. The Scotch leaders at the respective ends of the crescent gave the preconcerted signal, raising their Highland bonnets in the air; and instantly a deadly fire was poured into the dense mass of Spanish soldiery.

High-landers and Indians lay ambush

Spring it

It was not a battle, but a massacre. The vast numerical superiority of the Spaniards was now as vast a disadvantage, for the poorest English marksman could not miss a victim as often as he

Massacre of Spanish

1742

Bloody
ambush
of Span-
iards

reloaded. Wild panic prevailed instantly. Some rushed into the swamp and perished miserably in the mud and ooze. Others seized their guns and fired at random into the woods. Meanwhile the Scotch and Indians poured in volley after volley only a few feet off, every one a storm of destruction. At length the helpless ambushed remnant, crazed by fright at their desperate situation, plunged into the woods, only to be cut down by the Highland broadswords and the tomahawks of the savages. It was the kind of warfare in which the latter gloried, and they made the woods ring with their hideous yells and screams.

Entire
advance
checked

Oglethorpe heard all the horrible din, and hurried his men forward with all possible speed; but he reached the north end of the crescent only to witness the end of the slaughter, greeted with shouts from the Highlanders and yells from the Indians as he rode into their midst. Scarcely a Spaniard within the fatal circle escaped. The ground was covered with the dead and dying. So bitter was the hatred between the parties that few prisoners were taken. The Highlanders were as savage as their red allies, and this fellowship in battle made them fast friends throughout that generation.

The Spaniards were so daunted by the terrible slaughter in the woods that they made no further attempt to advance from that direction; but a few days afterward they brought their fleet up in line and made a hazardous effort to run the batteries on shore. This resulted little better. Oglethorpe

disposed his men so judiciously that as the ships came within range they were dreadfully torn by round and chain shot, while the musketeers on shore shot down those who appeared in the rigging, until the ships became almost unmanageable. Meanwhile the Spaniards could not bring their guns to bear with any effectiveness, so that here too the punishment was nearly all on one side. The ships were soon glad to haul off to a place of safety.

1742

Spanish
fleet
driven off

These disasters created dissension among the Spaniards. Those from Havana withdrew and camped in a separate place, and their officers with difficulty restrained the two factions from fighting one another. Each, however, possessed more than three times Oglethorpe's entire numbers; but his management and their defeats led the Spaniards heavily to overrate his forces. It was now his policy to attack the separate camps, and keep them both too occupied and apprehensive to assail him. This was the strategy of true military genius; and he carried it out so successfully that the Spanish commanders were seriously considering an abandonment of the expedition and return to Cuba, when the real strength of the English was made known by a deserter. Oglethorpe had planned so successfully to throw his whole force against one of the camps just at daybreak that he was within musket-shot before his presence was discovered. The surprise and probable victory would have been complete, but at the critical moment a Frenchman serving with the English,

Dissen-
sions
among
Span-
iardsFrench
spy re-
heartens
them

1742 who of course had enlisted as a spy, discharged his musket and ran over to the Spanish camp, giving the alarm before Oglethorpe could order the assault.

Span-
iards en-
couraged
by
French
spy

Ogle-
thorpe
turns his
plot
against
him

The invaders, now informed of their opponents' real strength, became bolder and more aggressive. It was vitally important that they should be again under the deception, and Oglethorpe resorted to a stratagem of infinite shrewdness. He wrote to the French deserter as to a spy whom he had sent into the hostile camp, instructing him to assure the Spanish commander that the English could bring no more than a few hundred men into the field, and that Frederica was comparatively defenseless; and to offer to pilot the Spanish fleet up the river, so as to delay it two or three days longer; but to be very careful not to let drop the slightest hint of the approach of two thousand men from Charlestown of an English fleet to aid in defending Frederica, or of Admiral Vernon's being on his way to attack St. Augustine.

All these matters, the letter said, would develop in a few days, and Oglethorpe hoped to capture the entire Spanish force; it was therefore important that their fleet be delayed by the stratagem suggested, and if the deserter succeeded he should be richly rewarded. A Spanish prisoner was heavily bribed to deliver this letter to no one but the Frenchman; as Oglethorpe expected, he carried it straight to the Spanish commander, who had the Frenchman arrested and loaded with chains as a spy.

The information was so startling that the Spaniard ceased all operations and prepared to embark at a moment's notice. It might be a ruse; yet if true his position was dangerous, and it was his duty to be on guard. Within a day or two, three English vessels were seen off the coast: they were bringing a small South Carolina detachment to the relief of Frederica, but their appearance confirmed the belief in the decoy letter. Throwing all doubts to the winds, the Spanish commander burnt the fort he had built, abandoned great quantities of provisions, military stores, and artillery, and hastily re-embarking his men, spread all sail in an eager effort to reach St. Augustine before Vernon. Oglethorpe at once manned his few little boats and chased the fleet out of the harbor, the Spaniards feeling too much urgency in a purpose of greater moment to attempt punishing his audacity.

This inglorious ending of the Spanish invasion established Oglethorpe's military repute. The story of his campaign went all over Europe, much to the chagrin of the Spaniards concerned in it. Monteano was severely censured, Rodondo thrown into prison and afterward dismissed from the service. Never again did the Spaniards attempt to establish their border north of the Altamaha; and although there were subsequent breaches of the peace, the English colonists were not seriously disturbed.

But while these events were in progress, the tongue of slander had been active across the sea.

1742

Ogle-
thorpe's
strat-
agem
frightens
off Span-
iards

Spanish
chagrin

1743
et seq.

Charges
against
Ogle-
thorpe

Triumph-
ant refu-
tation

A certain Lieutenant-Colonel Cook, who owed his commission to Oglethorpe, but had resigned on plea of illness just before the Spanish invasion, and was actuated now by mean envy, went to England and accused the general of embezzling the public funds. There was some apparent ground for the charge; because from the hurry of the campaign, and more especially through the war office at home, Oglethorpe's receipts and disbursements had been muddled so that a shortage appeared against him. Accordingly, about a year after the Spanish flight he demanded an investigation, and went personally to England to defend his character. He experienced no difficulty in proving that his accounts were correct; and not only was his accuser dismissed from the service in disgrace, but Oglethorpe was soon afterward promoted to major-general, and about two years later to lieutenant-general.

Mutual
indebted-
ness of
himself
and
Georgia

He did not, however, return again to America; although, throughout his enormously long life of ninety-six years, he never lost any part of his devotion to the colony he had done so much to establish, and to which he owed in return more than he can have realized. His agency in founding it has given him a vivid immortality,—a warm and familiar memory in the bosoms not alone of its people, but of all those of one of the mightiest nations of the world, through their children's study of its colonial founders; immortality which he might well have missed had he continued on the seemingly greater field of European wars,

the main scene of history, where he had begun so brilliantly, in place of exiling himself to a meagre colony in the wilderness.

Although a Tory in politics, when the American Revolution broke out he openly declared that the cause of the colonists was just; and thereby added a warm new affection to the esteem which the American people cherished for him. In 1775, when Gage returned to England, the supreme command in America was offered to the aged Oglethorpe, then seventy-seven; but he declined unless the commission included authority to grant concessions, which being denied, he refused to go. It was best so: he could have made no offers that would have stopped the war, and would only have broken his heart in vain,—or at best, like Howe, taken care to win as few victories and do as little damage to the country as the letter of his instructions made possible, and so indirectly help the colonial cause. His age, despite his military rank, furnished a sound excuse for remaining wholly out of service during the conflict; and when our independence had been granted, he was one of the first prominent Englishmen to call on our first minister, John Adams, and congratulate him on the return of peace.

Oglethorpe retained his vigor and his interest in public affairs almost up to the day of his death. His prominent features, however, became strongly marked and wrinkled; which, added to his soldierly bearing, made him a striking figure. One of his contemporaries, writing of him a few days

Ogle-
thorpe
cham-
pions
American
cause

Striking
old age

Ogle-
thorpe's
remark-
able old
age

after his death, said, "His eyes, ears, articulation, limbs, and memory would suit a boy, if a boy could recollect a century backwards," and added that "two years and a half ago he challenged a neighboring gentleman for trespassing on his manor." In this later life he manifested a deep interest in literature, and was a familiar figure at the book-stalls and among men of letters. His best known portrait, drawn in 1785, only a short time before his death, represents him seated on a bench, reading a book which he had just purchased at the auction sale of the library of his friend Dr. Johnson. He outlived all the contemporaries of his youth, and at the time of his death stood alone, like a venerable oak, the last representative of a past age.

Slack
growth of
Georgia

For years after the Spanish invasion, Georgia grew but slowly. War and the apprehension of its renewal of course had much to do with this; but the peculiar system under which it was founded, unsuited to the eighteenth century, was responsible to a much larger extent. Agriculture languished, commerce dwindled to almost nothing, and the people lived from day to day in hopes that something better would happen. Not until 1742 had the trustees established a definite frame of government; previously all was conducted according to their personal will, as expressed in the administration of Governor Oglethorpe. The colony's progress had been due almost entirely to his wisdom and energy; but now that he was no longer connected with it, some governmental

framework was essential. The trustees accordingly appointed a president and four assistants from among the prominent settlers, to execute the laws in conformity with instructions from London; they were required to hold four general courts each year at Savannah, for the transaction of all public business, and to transmit to England monthly accounts of their expenditures.

1742-62

Trustees
appoint
local gov-
ernment
in
Georgia

This was a little more satisfactory, but by no means what the people desired or expected. It still left the government in the hands of the trustees, who, afar in London, could not have full knowledge of or sympathy with the conditions of the people. A very important land reform was secured, however: absolute ownership was conceded, with a small payment of quit-rents.

Full
landown-
ership
conceded

But the form of the government was still unsatisfactory; the colony continued to languish for ten years longer, until in 1752 the trustees surrendered their charter to the Crown, and Georgia became a royal province. A government similar to that in the Carolinas was immediately instituted, and the doors were thrown wide to rum and slavery,—the chief popular demands, and the chief reasons of the great popular joy in the change. The demand for slave labor, indeed, would soon have forced the government's hand in any event. Almost every white man in Georgia—even the most religious—was seriously convinced that the colony could not compete with the Carolinas and prosper unless, like them, it had free access to the slave markets. Rum was just as universally demanded,

Georgia
becomes
Crown
colony

1752
et seq.

on the plea that the bad water required its use, for its real if regrettable social uses in a coarse pioneer community, and for its service in muddling the wits of Indians before bargaining with them.

Georgia
crops

Georgia certainly did now begin to prosper. The planters were able to compete with their neighbors, and Georgia products soon found their way into the markets of the world along with those of the Carolinas and Virginia. Indigo became an important article of commerce. It was a crop that required little attention, the work being done between July and October; and as its production was hastened by bounties from the English government, it quickly sprang into prominence and became one of the most valuable exports of the southern colonies. Cotton, tobacco, and rice were extensively cultivated; and restrictions against trade with the West Indies having been removed, large consignments of lumber began to be sent to those islands. In the export of furs and peltries Georgia was not so fortunate as the more northern colonies, because the climate rendered that trade less profitable, and the population embraced a smaller proportion of hunters and Indian-traders. But even before the change to a Crown colony its exports amounted to nearly \$100,000 per annum. Among the items for one year were 268 pounds of raw silk, an industry from which much had been expected. As the colony advanced in wealth and population, cotton and rice became great staples.

Export
staples

After the defeat in 1745 of Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, many of his adherents were exiled to America. Several companies of Scotch were sent to Georgia, where they received a cordial welcome from the Highlanders who had preceded them. Thus thrown into close relationship with their own countrymen, they quickly adapted themselves to their surroundings, and were incorporated into the great body of peaceful citizens. In the Revolution they and their sons formed some of the best fighting battalions organized in the South. But they and the older Scotch emigrants long held aloof from the English colonists, remaining a class by themselves as clannish in America as they had been in Scotland.

1745
et seq.

Fresh
High-
land
immi-
gration

The early Georgians, as a rule, were a light-hearted, reckless class of people. They were addicted to hunting, cock-fighting, horse-racing, gambling, and pugilistic exercises. Those who belonged to any church at all were usually Methodists or Presbyterians. The Baptists also had a good following; but the Catholics and Anglicans never secured more than a footing, relatively. There was practically no element of aristocracy in Georgia. The wealthy planters, who subsequently constituted a local aristocracy of their own, were descendants of all the other classes.

Georgia
society

The life of a Georgia planter, toward the close of the eighteenth century, is thus curiously described by a writer who lived at that time:

“About six in the morning the planter quits his bed, and orders his horse to be got ready; he

Life in
eigh-
teenth
century
Georgia

then swallows a dram of bitters to prevent the ill effects of the early fogs, and sets out on the tour of his plantation. In his route he takes an opportunity to stop at the negro houses; and if he sees any lurking about home, whose business it is to be in the fields, he immediately inquires the cause; and if no sufficient reason is given, he applies his rattan whip to the shoulders of the slave, and obliges him instantly to decamp. If sickness be alleged, the negro is immediately shut up in the sick-house, bled and purged, and kept on low diet, till he either dies, or gets into a way of recovery. After having examined the overseer with reference to the poultry, hogs, cattle, etc., he proceeds round the farm, takes a cursory view of the rice, corn, or indigo fields, and examines into the state of the fences and other enclosures. About the hour of eight his circuit is finished, when, before he alights at his own door, a tribe of young negroes, in the primitive state of nakedness, rush out to meet him and receive his horse. Breakfast being over, he mounts a fresh horse and rides to the county-town, where he talks politics, inquires the price of produce, makes bargains, plays a game of all-fours, or appoints days for horse-racing or boxing-matches. About four he returns, bringing with him some friends or acquaintances for dinner. If the company be lively and agreeable, he rarely rises from the table before sunset. If it be a wet evening, or the weather very disagreeable, cards or conversation employ him till bedtime. If it be fair and no

moonlight, after an early supper a fire is kindled in a pan, and two or three of them set out, stored with some bottles of brandy, preceded by a negro who carries a fire, in order to shoot deer in the woods; as these creatures are so attracted by a light that they constantly stand still, and fix their eyes upon the blaze, by the reflection of which from the eyeball they are easily discovered and shot. About midnight they return, according to luck, with or without game; their shins and faces sadly scratched, and themselves fit for nothing but to be put to bed. This is the general routine of existence among such of the Georgians as live in the more retired and woody parts of the State. Others have their weekly societies for sentimental and colloquial amusement. As to trade and business, they are entirely managed by overseers and factors."

Georgia
hunting

Other
life

The last exciting episode in the early colonial history of Georgia occurred about the middle of the eighteenth century. It was consequent on Oglethorpe's departure, as he would doubtless have quenched its beginnings, and his lieutenant suspiciously furthered them.

The reader will remember that picturesque character, Mary Musgrove, the half-breed Indian woman who acted as interpreter for the colonists at the outset of the settlement. She was an ambitious creature, with a good deal of energy and natural intelligence, and of much influence with the Creeks; and Oglethorpe retained her as interpreter when needed, paying her, for some years

Mary
Mus-
grove

1743-7

Mary
Mus-
grove's
services

up to 1743, £100 a year for this and other invaluable services. She aided in keeping the Indians in good temper with the whites, securing treaties, and obtaining Creek volunteers for the wars with the Spaniards. No doubt she found her account in the great trade of military and general supplies; but that did not make the service less important. Oglethorpe expressed his sense of these both by speech and writing, and is said to have given her a diamond ring on leaving Georgia.

Bosom-
worthTries to
be slave-
holding
planter

She had been the possessor of two white husbands; both dying in succession, she made in 1744 a more exalted conquest, Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, an Anglican clergyman sent to Georgia as a missionary, and serving at one time as chaplain to Oglethorpe. His nativity is unknown; but as he came with the Highland regiment, he was probably a Scotchman. He certainly exemplified one conventional type of Scot: he was greedy, contentious, and vindictive. His design in this marriage was undoubtedly to exploit his wife's value to the whites and influence with the Indians, in order to make himself rich and powerful; but his exact plans were probably vague at the start. After going to England and telling the trustees he should not go back to Georgia to live, he returned, bought negro slaves, and set them to work on his wife's plantation, in defiance of the trustees' law. They ordered the president, William Stephens, to remove the negroes.

Bosomworth was enraged, and devised a new scheme of money-making, or brought forward an

older one. He had his wife draw up a memorial (August 10, 1747) to Colonel Heron, the commandant in Oglethorpe's absence, to be laid before the Duke of Newcastle, claiming £5714 17s. 11d. (it was well to be exact) for losses in her business while attending to the colony's; and asking for an annual sum "to be applied among the Indians"—no auditors specified. Heron indorsed the claim—a contemporary says because he was promised a part of the avails. It is generally conceded that she deserved something handsome, and it was a mistake not to keep her on the £100 salary straight along; but the amount claimed was extravagant,—probably Bosomworth fixed it as an "upset" claim to come down from,—and the grounds were absurd. He also based the request for the annual allowance on the imminent danger of a Creek uprising; and Oglethorpe, who was in England, knew better. In fact, there would have been none had not Bosomworth with infamous selfishness and recklessness incited it. In this document also his wife alleged herself to be maternal niece of the "old emperor" of the Creeks,—whoever he was,—and "by the laws and voice of the whole people esteemed their rightful and natural Princess"; which would probably have been news to the Creeks, despite their admission of the claim later.

1747

Mary
Bosom-
worth's
enor-
mous
claim

Alleged
Indian
royalty

With Mary's aid, her husband also on December 14 struck a bargain with a Creek micco named Malatche and sixteen sub-chiefs: they to acknowledge Malatche as "emperor" of all the Creeks,

Bargain
with
Creek
chiefs

1747-8

Bargain
with
Creek
chiefs

the emperor to cede Bosomworth valuable lands, and the band to have value received. Heron witnessed the chiefs' acknowledgment of Malatche accordingly, perhaps for a further consideration: Oglethorpe would certainly have put his foot on it. Bosomworth gave the chiefs several hundred dollars' worth of arms and ammunition, cloth and paint; and the "emperor" deeded him in fee simple the noble and beautiful islands of Ossabaw, Sapello, and St. Catherine's, with a considerable strip of territory along the mainland, all reserved to the Creeks by special treaty. He at once bought large herds of cattle in Carolina on credit, and put them to pasture on his lands. The speculation would doubtless have succeeded had there been an ample local market for the increase of his kine; but the other Georgians, like himself, were producers of cattle, not buyers. He had probably counted on receiving at least a part of his claim from the trustees to pay his notes; but when they became due he could not meet them, and became hopelessly involved in debt.

Failure of
cattle
speculationClaim of
Mary's
royalty
revived

Most likely at the start he had built no air-castles beyond being a mighty landed magnate; but in his desperation he grasped at a dream of barbarian empire. At his instigation his half-breed wife reasserted her claim to the queenship of the Creeks, alleging herself to be half-sister of Malatche and his superior in rights, as descendant of a past emperor of the nation. The chiefs at a general council, by what arguments we know not, professed to be convinced of the truth of her

claim—perhaps more truly were glad of an excuse for breaking the treaty and reveling in war and ravage, or a “hold-up” of the colony for ransom in guns and powder and decorations; anyway, they acknowledged her as ruler, and armed and concentrated their warriors in defense of her rights. She thereupon renounced all allegiance to the king of England; proclaimed herself his equal; and having marshaled her forces, marched toward Savannah, demanding of Stephens a recognition of her claims, and the immediate evacuation of all lands south of the Savannah River, in default of which she threatened the extirpation of all settlements upon them.

1748

Creek
chiefs
acknowl-
edge
Mary
Bosom-
worth

March on
Savan-
nah

What had at first appeared a farce now began to assume the proportions of a bloody menace; for this woman, with her Indian savagery now aroused and half crazed by drink, had a sufficient force at her command to render her threats not to be despised. Stephens hastily summoned the militia—only one hundred and seventy men in all—to hold themselves ready, manned his artillery, and sent a messenger to remonstrate with Mary and induce her to abandon the scheme; but without avail. Ordering the militia under arms, he then sent Captain Noble Jones with a mounted company to meet her, and force her following to lay down their arms before permitting them to enter the town. Awed by his resolution, despite their superior numbers they sulkily submitted, on his assurance that no violence should be done them, and marched in (July 20, 1748).

Enter
city un-
armed

1748

Creek
army in
Savan-
nahTheir
demandsStrained
situationBosom-
worth im-
prisoned

The procession was led by Bosomworth, dressed in his canonical robes, and by his wife clad in the fantastic habiliments of an Indian princess; while behind them came a formidable array of haughty chiefs, and then of stalwart warriors. The procession was directed toward the public square, where the militia were drawn up in all the pomp and panoply of war; and as it reached the centre of the square, it was greeted with an artillery salute of fifteen guns. The blaze and noise of the cannon daunted the Indians; for they knew the irresistible might of heavy guns. The Bosomworths were made to withdraw, and the chiefs were pleasantly asked their object in this visit *en masse* without summons. By previous "coaching," they referred all to Mary as definitive authority, professed to have heard that their "queen" was to be deported across the water, denied any intention of violence, asked for their arms again, and agreed to settle everything peaceably after consulting the Bosomworths.

The guns were restored, but without ammunition; which was judicious, for after consulting the "royal" couple, the Indians paraded the streets with black and threatening looks. A false rumor of actual outbreak circulating among the terrified and nervous inhabitants nearly caused them to fire on the savages. Bosomworth was now closely confined, and warned that his life would be the first forfeit if a collision occurred. Thereupon Mary, who was full of liquor as usual, stamped upon the ground in her drunken fury, declaring

that the whole country belonged to her, and ordered all the white people who had intruded upon it to vacate it at once. Forgetting Oglethorpe's friendship for her, she cursed him for a traitor, denounced as fraudulent the treaties he had made with her people by her help, and declared that they should be wiped out in blood. She further forbade the chiefs or other leaders to open their lips on public affairs except in her presence, and kept them constantly under her eye. They were estopped from withstanding her, had they wished, by their own declarations and the absence of any excuse for action without her; and she kept them fiercely inflamed. It was indispensable to get her out of the way, and Stephens locked her up with her husband.

1748

Mary
Bosom-
worth
over-
awes
Creek
chiefs

Impris-
oned

Then a feast was made for the chiefs and leading warriors; and they were told that Bosomworth had tricked them out of the Savannah lands and the islands—reserved for their use in fishing, hunting, and encampment when they came for sea-bathing and visits to the whites—solely to pay his debts, and was trying to obtain the major part of the presents just sent to them by the King of England for their friendship and services in war. The mobile savages, or many of them, even Malatche, deserted Bosomworth's cause on hearing of the presents, which Stephens at once prepared to distribute and then pack off his terrible guests. But the weathercock Malatche meanwhile obtained an interview with his "sovereign," and came back red-hot; interrupted the meeting with a violent

Chiefs
got in
hand

1748

Malatche
acts as
firebrand

and threatening diatribe in favor of her rights, and a paper reciting them drawn up by Bosomworth, and declared that three thousand warriors were ready to maintain them. There was an astounded silence, but ugly looks toward Malatche himself, who was interposing between the warriors and their gifts; he was alarmed, and asked to have the paper back to return it to its author.

Stephens
makes
dexter-
ous
speech

Stephens saw that the game was at last in his hands, and made an address which, if it did not perhaps convince the Indians of anything they did not know before, at least afforded a decent excuse for a change of purpose which most of them had resolved upon, based partly on the gifts and partly on the English cannon. He told them that Oglethorpe on his arrival had found Mary a poor and ragged woman, neglected and despised by the Indians, living in a little Yamacraw hut with a trader licensed by the governor of South Carolina; had found her useful as an interpreter, given her rich clothes, and raised her to her present consequence; and that the people of Georgia had always respected her till under Bosomworth's influence she turned liar and trickster. She was no relation of Malatche or any other high chief, but the daughter of an obscure Indian woman by a white man; Oglethorpe obtained the Georgia territory not from her,—she had none to give and no power to give others',—but from the wise and aged leaders of the Creek nation, who gave up its waste lands to have the white people settle near

Mary un-
masked

it and supply its wants. This disturbance had been raised by Mary as a tool of her husband, who had tried to induce the Georgia government to give him a large share of the King's bounty and thus rob the poor Indians, and in rage at its refusal had filled their heads with fictitious and false notions, to make them break with their best friends the whites.

1748

Truth
about
Bosom-
worth
claim

The assemblage professed perfect acceptance of this exposition, and perfect content with the presents given out after a round of pipes and rum;—whether they really believed the gifts a felicitous recent arrival from the King, or that colonial ransom extorted by fear which was one string to their bow in revolting, is not material. Even Malatche did not grumble over his share. But just at this moment Mary, by some ill hap escaped or let loose, broke into the meeting drunk and furious, and told Stephens these were her subjects and he had nothing to do with them. Stephens advised her to withdraw and not to envenom their minds further, or he would have her locked up again. She turned to Malatche and asked if he would endure such treatment of his queen; he sprang up, grasped knife and tomahawk, and dared any man to touch her; the other Indian warriors followed suit, brandishing their hatchets: for a space it seemed as if the white councillors would all be butchered. But Captain Jones, whose armed guard was at hand, stepped forward and ordered the Indians to lay down their arms: his men had loaded guns and they had

Chiefs
pacified

Mary
upsets
them
again

1748
et seq-

not, and they dared not refuse. Mary was put under guard in a private room, and no Indian was allowed to see her while they remained in Savannah. She certainly had great force of character.

Creek
revolt
quelled

The Indians were at last quieted and induced to leave town. The Bosomworths were kept some days longer, till they asked pardon for their errors, when they too were set free. But Bosomworth was not a Scotchman for nothing: though dismissed in disgrace from the trustees' service, he clung to Mary's extravagant claim of money and the islands. It hung on for eleven years more; at last, in 1759, she was allowed £450 for alleged expenditures in 1747-8, back salary as interpreter at £100 per annum for sixteen and a half years previous, and full ownership of St. Catherine's Island, which the couple had planted and where they resided.

End of
the
Bosom-
worths

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PROGRESS OF NEW FRANCE

The settlement, or attempt at settlement, by France of its American territories was no more a unit than the English. It was far less so, indeed. While the latter was at least a string of coast plantations, in easy communication and rapidly widening out toward each other, the former was a set of scattered forts, coast and inland, some of them at enormous distances, none except those on the St. Lawrence forming centres for any considerable occupation; and the plantations therefore, when there were any, not materially tending to coalesce. So their history is a set of practically unrelated episodes; little pools which never, as with the English colonies, flood out into lakes and steadily progress toward confluence into one huge national sea. The stories of Acadia, Canada proper, Louisiana, and the cordon of forts along the Mississippi, the Great Lakes, and the intervening streams to guard the fur trade, can each be told almost without reference to other French settlements in America.

The history of the founding of the French colonies on the continent of North America has been told to the death of Champlain in 1635. It will be remembered that Champlain planned a

Inorganic
French
coloni-
zation

1625-7

Cham-
plain and
the com-
mercial
company

colony in the New World, and that this perhaps conflicted to some extent with the plans of the trading company which before that time had controlled all intercourse between France and the new territory. Various changes were made in the company, which affected the fortunes of the provinces; but the most far-reaching and momentous was the coming of the Jesuits Charles Lalement, Massé, and Brebeuf, in 1625. The history of the development of Canada and the extension of New France, the means moreover of that control over the Indians which constituted the most important feature of French success, and left one of its most enduring results, are to be found in the history of Jesuit missions and missionaries.

Crucial
import-
ance
of the
Jesuits

In 1627 Cardinal Richelieu took away the privileges of the trading company, and placed the control of affairs in the hands of two corporations. One of these, the Company of New France, was to consist of one hundred associates with the Cardinal at their head. The other was the Company of the Isles of America, in which Richelieu was a large stockholder. The greatest difficulty with which these new corporations had to contend was lack of capital, both of money and men. For the rest, all the advantages that could insure success were given: the monopoly of the fur-trade, exemption from taxes for fifteen years, control of other trade (except the fisheries) for a like period. During the same time, also, the French were to send four thousand colonists of French descent and Catholic faith.

Riche-
lieu's
trading
corpora-
tions

In 1628 war began between England and France; and the expedition intended for the relief of Quebec was overwhelmed by the English, into whose hands the feeble settlement soon afterwards passed. Three years later Quebec was returned to France by the treaty of St. Germaine-en-Laye, and in 1633 Champlain came back to Canada as the governor for "The Hundred Associates." He held the office for but two years, dying on Christmas day of 1635. At this point, already reached, we take up the story of New France once more and break fresh ground.

1613-35

Canada
to Cham-
plain's
death

That of the earliest Acadia has already been given so far as concerns De Monts' and Poutrincourt's feeble settlements, the foundation of Port Royal (Annapolis), Madame de Guercheville's Jesuit colony, and the destruction of all the coast settlements by Argall during 1613 in the interest of Virginia. We have also mentioned in their English relations the grant of Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander by James I., who later gave him in addition the heart of Canada,—the St. Lawrence from mouth to source, with its bordering lands to a hundred and fifty miles in width on each side and out to the Pacific; and the expedition of David Kirke (page 845), to make the patent good against the French. But these last must be restated here as part of the story of Acadia, whose fortunes we have now to carry forward for another generation. This period is an unending broil of petty warfare, intermingled

Early
Acadia

1613-24

Fur-trade
the basis
of Aca-
dian set-
tlement

with—but often in curious disregard of—battles for court influence. Though this strife was partly generated by the conflict of international claims, it was chiefly that of rival French lords of Acadia themselves, at bottom for the sake of a vast fur-trade. The contingent profits of this lend importance to what would otherwise be the most grotesquely trivial of squabbles, with a handful of men and a few hamlets and block-houses, not even constituting the germs of a new nationality.

Bien-
court's
vagrant
band

Allagall left a mass of charred ruins behind him: but eighteen or twenty of the Frenchmen who escaped him, headed by Poutrincourt's son Biencourt, would not return to France; and for many years they roamed the woods and beaches, living on Indian fare. Some time during this period they built a small stockade (which they called Fort Loméron) at Cape Sable, the southern end of Nova Scotia's western projection, a rocky and fog-bound haunt of seals; and managed to do fishing and seal-catching enough to begin some trade in furs, though still maintaining their vagabond life.

Among them was one Claude St. Estienne (or Étienne) de la Tour,¹ of Normandy, from an old

¹In full, Claude de St. Estienne or Etienne, seigneur de la Tour and la Vuarre (Warre, giving title to our own Lord Delaware); but as his son regularly went by the father's title of La Tour, by which he is known to us,—though he styled himself seigneur of St. Deniscourt and Baigneux,—it had probably sunk to a common surname in the fall of the family fortunes (the La Tours are said by enemies to have become masons). Even St. Estienne was not their real family name, but Turgis. The actions and grants of the father and son are not always easy to keep separate, and are pretty certainly sometimes mixed; and

but reduced family, and his more famous son Charles, whom he had brought over at fourteen. The father was a Huguenot; and in his party's life-struggle with the French government under Richelieu, his religion more than the jurisdiction of that government was his real country, as usual and right with minorities all through the great European religious wars. The son it is quite impossible to classify as anything. He was a perfectly detached adventurer, without faith, honor, or country abstract or concrete: taught hypocrisy and the shiftest opportunism from boyhood between his Protestant father and his ultra-Catholic surroundings, cut loose from all national ties by the same conflict and early expatriation, ingrained with the self-preserving heartlessness of the castaway (like so many of the Spanish adventurers in like conditions), and probably born a scamp at best. But he seems to have held the belief—quite just, and remarkably validated by the event—that he could maintain a practical independence better under French court intrigues than the barbarian directness of English methods; and he remained French in allegiance as long as feasible, and therefore Catholic when it was not his immediate policy to be Protestant.

1605 (?)—
66

Claude
and
Charles
La Tour

much of the whole story before 1630 has to be evolved from a balance of Charles' unvarnished statements at second hand and more reliable outside accounts. As told here from re-examination of the sources, it varies materially from Parkman's; which after careful weighing seems to us to show in the first few pages some confusion, omission, and misconnection, besides being condensed into an apparent misrelation of parts.

1624-7

The
La Tours
share
Acadia

Biencourt died about the beginning of 1624, and the La Tours seem to have shared his Acadian position and possessions between them. As they still had to live like Indians, the heritage was not rich. The younger asserted that Biencourt left the whole to him by will, as his ensign and lieutenant;¹ at all events, he shortly took possession of the fort and appurtenances at Cape Sable, and in 1627 wrote to Louis XIII. asking for a commission as governor of Acadia. At the same time the father seems (dubiously) to have obtained a grant of nine hundred square miles around the mouth of the St. John. For security in any event, he procured a confirmatory grant of the same territory from Alexander, holding it as a fief of the Scottish Crown.²

¹ Champlain speaks of him only as "the son of La Tour," as if the father were much the more important; and Alexander's giving the latter an immediate baronetcy, with the speedy command of his expedition and a great land-grant, and the superior marriage arranged for him, seem to justify this, and make it unlikely that the father should have been thus ignored by Biencourt. It is the father who procures for the son an equal title and joint granteeship. But the son's possession of the fort and his request for chief command, and the early subsidence of the father into his dependent, probably indicate a dominating energy and selfishness which practically ousted the father soon after Biencourt's death. Indeed, the man who defied repeated mandates of the King, and royal forces commissioned to seize him as a rebel, in the height of French power, and by mingled fraud and contumacy came out on top at last, was not likely to let a father stand in his way. If the will existed, Charles doubtless forged it, as he did any other document he needed.

² Parkman says it was the son who obtained this grant; but he cites Williamson as his authority, and Williamson only quotes Hutchinson, who credits it to the father, which by itself is much more probable. The son did not need two stations (and even some years later did not occupy them), and the father evidently needed one, being dispossessed of Fort Loméron and "in the air." We tell the story according to our authorities; but our firm conviction is that this grant is a misdating of

Meantime Acadia had gathered afresh a small French population. Kirke's expedition of 1629 temporarily brought all French America under English domination, and the Acadians became English subjects; many of them with a cheerfulness and a readiness to aid the English which disgusts Champlain, who thinks them deserters of the French cause. The truth is, France's *peasant* colonists rarely felt or owed much self-sacrificing devotion to her. Port Royal received a Scotch colony, and some other English and Scotch settlements were made along the coast of Acadia and Maine. Kirke captured the older La Tour aboard a French supply ship, and took him to England.

1627-30

Kirke's
conquest
of Acadia

The dates are significant, and their coincidence has never been noticed. The fleet arriving November 29, *the next day* Alexander made La Tour a baronet of Nova Scotia—a dignity authorized by James to attract gentry thither as feudal landholders. This promptness would indicate that La Tour had agreed with his fellow-Huguenot Kirke on the voyage to become a willing English subject at once.¹ A marriage with a maid of honor to the queen was shortly arranged for him;

Alex-
ander
utilizes
elder
La Tour

the one actually got by Charles in 1635, and the confirmation by Alexander a blundering inference. It is quite incredible that two grants of the same territory were obtained by the same person—or the first by the son and the second by the father—eight years apart, and a new fort built in each case. What had become of the 1627 fort in 1635, if one was built?

¹ He is said to have "renounced his allegiance" to France. It may be; but as an inhabitant and landholder of Acadia, his allegiance was now due to England anyway, unless he chose to go into exile. Doubtless, however, he took a formal oath to his new country.

1630-5

Grants to
the
La Tours

a patent for a great district north of Cape Sable—about a third of “New Scotland”—was made out on April 30, 1630, jointly (or severally if they so chose to divide it) to father and son in two baronies, as fiefs of the Scottish Crown, the father evidently pledging himself to gain his son’s consent to the arrangement; and on May 10 the son was made a baronet in his absence.

Dubious
actions of
father
and son

La Tour senior was sent over not long afterward with two ships, to arrange this new lordship with his son. What happened we do not know, except that the same year he was at Port Royal, in *his* section of Nova Scotia; and that five years later—Acadia and Canada having meantime in 1632 been retroceded to France—he was living in a small house outside his son’s fort at Cape Sable. That veracious person told a trader, from whom we have it, that his father had made him enticing offers to transfer his allegiance to England—of which, be it remembered, he was now a subject by conquest; that he had with lofty patriotism refused to have any dealings except with his lawful sovereign the king of France; that thereupon his father’s fleet had attacked him in vain; that this destroyed his father’s credit with England, and the good son offered him a shelter outside his fort on condition that he should not enter it, which was accepted.

We cannot know what grains of truth lie in this precious farrago of fiction. La Tour junior was no fanatic of loyalty; there was no reason in 1630 why he should not take the grant and title

from the *de facto* lord of Acadia, and he probably did. As to the father, his St. John fort if it existed (which we think improbable) may have been too much for him to maintain; and he may have preferred to live near the son whom he evidently loved,—perhaps none the less for his masterfulness,—and let him manage the joint barony. He does not seem to have been a person of great force.

1630-2

Elder and
younger
La Tour

On the retrocession of French America (March 29, 1632), Claude de Razilly, Knight of Malta, was sent with three hundred men to reoccupy it for France, with large grants for himself. He arrived at Port Royal in August, and promptly unseated the Scotch colonies there and elsewhere on the coast. His chief lieutenant was his kinsman Charles de Menou, seigneur d'Aunay Charnisay, from an old and distinguished family of Touraine: proudest of being a "French gentleman," and living up to its ideal not only in courage and courtesy, but in loyalty and honor; a true chevalier, faithful to his religion, his country, and his word. On Razilly's death in 1635, he left D'Aunay as successor to his plenary power in Acadia, with headquarters at Port Royal.

Razilly

D'Aunay

But meantime Charles de la Tour, by the turn of a wheel made a French subject again, with his English title and patent not only useless but dangerous, went to France; no doubt told the story of his heroic resistance to English seductions, and did not tell of the said title or patent; and came back with his hands full of ammunition which he intended to make him an independent potentate,

Charles
La Tour

1632-5

Charles
La Tour's
grants of
power

though the court cannot have thought of authorizing a conflict of jurisdiction. He had not only secured a land grant most likely about the same as Alexander's, but was lieutenant-general at Fort Loméron (now renamed Fort La Tour) and its dependencies, and commander at Cape Sable for the Company of New France. On the strength of this he held himself independent of D'Aunay's authority, within his lands and as regarded his trade and actions.

Removes
to the
St. John

He had built up a considerable fur-trade by help of the local Micmac Indians; but Cape Sable was too far out across a desert for the seat of a territorial magnate who was to make his claims good. He procured in 1635 a grant of lands at the mouth of the St. John, built a fort and removed thither, transferring to it the name of Fort La Tour; others called it Fort St. Jean.¹ It would seem that some of the lands had already been granted to Razilly, whose heirs had sold their claims to D'Aunay; also the latter was occupying peninsular lands included in La Tour's last grant, the French court having the same competent knowledge of American geography as the English: and a conflict of claims ensued which the court could not unravel.

Claims
conflict
with
D'Au-
nay's

D'Aunay had put all his means into this enterprise, selling or mortgaging his French estates to provide and fit out ships, hire and arm soldiers (three hundred in all), build and arm forts,—two

¹ See note 2, page 1938.

or three besides that at Port Royal, with sixty cannon there and on his ships,—transport and supply colonists, and so on. In half a dozen years he had some forty families at Port Royal, each with a farm at a nominal rent, and a log cabin; a great log manor-house; a seminary with twelve Franciscan friars to convert the Indians,—of whom numbers of Micmacs and Abenakis were the soul of his fur-trade, bringing in thousands of moose, beaver, and other valuable skins every year; a chapel; and in 1638 brought over a wife, who bore him eight children to be food for powder or nunneries.

1632-8

D'Aunay's
seigniory
at Port
Royal

The rivals were temporarily at one against the New England colonists who tried to share their trade. They regarded these as direct trespassers, besides being (in D'Aunay's eyes at least) heretics. La Tour sacked the Machias factory in 1633, killed two of its inmates and carried away the other three, and in 1635 D'Aunay captured the factory at Penobscot, as noted under Plymouth. But even here La Tour held to his independence: he would not obey D'Aunay's requisition to lend aid in the assault. The latter was losing so heavily on his investment (it was 800,000 livres first and last, fully \$600,000 now) that La Tour expected him soon to return to France and leave himself the field: *he* had invested nothing, and could not stand to lose, whatever was the return. But D'Aunay's bringing over a wife in 1638 robbed his rival of that hope, and the latter began a venomous warfare that never ended till

He and
La Tour
seize New
England
ports

La Tour's
truce-
less war
against
D'Aunay

1637-41

death intervened, and with its usual sound judgment removed the better man.

Madame
La Tour

La Tour first attempted inciting the Port Royal soldiers to mutiny, then set on his Indians to a murderous attack on one of D'Aunay's boats. With the sincere flattery of imitation, he matched wife against wife, and deputed an agent—Desjardins—to send him one. Never was a trust better executed. Marie Jacquelin—a Norman barber's daughter, so said the other party—respected the duty of her sex to be a reinforcement each to her husband without asking any questions. She assumed the entire moral and legal right of the man she had never seen till she came to Fort St. Jean, in a quarrel she had never heard of; and was a host in herself, exceeding her husband in energy and sagacity, putting all her heart and soul into the fray and almost literally dying in harness.

D'Aunay
defeats
and
captures
La Tour

D'Aunay sent nine soldiers to reinforce and munition the Penobscot factory against a rumored recapture by the English; La Tour had them seized and taken to his fort, and made to work as his laborers, very ill-used at that. Four months later D'Aunay heard of it for the first time, went by sea with two vessels and remanned Penobscot in person; La Tour lay in wait for him also with two, and a savage naval battle ensued. One of D'Aunay's vessels had its masts shot away; but La Tour's chief officer was killed, and he with his wife and the judicious agent who chose her were carried prisoners to Port Royal. There was absolutely no pretext for this murderous assault, or

the other outrages which had preceded it: La Tour could not deny D'Aunay's jurisdiction in his own domain, and conflicting land grants of the Crown were not thus to be settled. But D'Aunay, at the request of the friars, set his captives free on La Tour's signing a bond to keep the peace.

1641-2

The
La Tours
released

The overlapping claims were laid before the French courts, which decided for D'Aunay. La Tour's commission was revoked, and he was ordered to return to France and await the King's commands. He ignored the order, probably expecting the King to forget this colonial trifle. But D'Aunay's father saw to it that the contumacy was not overlooked; and D'Aunay was empowered to seize La Tour's forts and replace their commandants. He had too few soldiers to take them by force, and La Tour defied him. D'Aunay went to France to lay the conduct before the King, and was empowered to seize La Tour as a rebel and send him to France for trial. La Tour's invaluable agent was just sending him a richly stored vessel, the *St. Clement*, with a hundred and forty Huguenots for reinforcements; the King ordered it seized, but it had already sailed. Arriving at Fort St. Jean in August 1642, D'Aunay sent three gentlemen rowed by four sailors to read the King's mandate: La Tour snatched it away and crumpled it up, and after berating the messengers, threw all seven into his dungeon in the fort, where they remained over a year. About June 1642¹ the

La Tour
disobeys
cashier-
ing and
requisi-
tionD'Aunay
attempts
to en-
force it

¹ This would make the *St. Clement* a full year in getting to America. The facts and dates in our authorities are utterly impossible to reconcile.

1642

La Tour
goes to
Boston
for help

supply ship came off the mouth of the river; but D'Aunay's three armed vessels lay between it and the fort. As a last hope, La Tour with his wife slipped through the hostile fleet during the night in a small boat, took command of the *St. Clement*, and sailed with her for Boston to appeal to the New-Englanders for help, as he had twice before without success.

Long
debate
among
magis-
trates

The appearance of the French ship, June 12, and the rowing over of La Tour and some others in its boat to Governor's Island, where Governor Winthrop and his family were recreating, caused almost a panic. Opinions were divided whether the Frenchmen would occupy the ungarrisoned fort on Castle Island and reduce the town by threat of bombardment, or seize the Governor and hold him to ransom. But he only asked Winthrop for help in raising D'Aunay's blockade and getting the supplies to his fort. Winthrop would not decide without consulting the magistrates, and it took over a month to settle the business; during which La Tour, lodged by Captain Edward Gibbons, conciliated the Puritans by regularly attending church with his wife and Winthrop, and exercised his men with the Boston train-bands on the Common. His destructive attack on Machias had created no good-will for him; but he explained that its men were drunk and fired on him first.

La Tour
shows
commis-
sion

To prove his official right to ask for help, he showed the permit to the *St. Clement's* captain to bring supplies to him, with the title of lieutenant-general in Acadia which it gave him; and a

letter, probably forged, from the Company of New France, not only giving him the same title, but warning him to beware of D'Aunay. That chief-tain had sent the New-Englanders a letter the year before, telling them of La Tour being proclaimed a rebel; but they might well be bewildered between the two, and La Tour's papers seemed to show that he was at least an accredited royal official. He played Protestant, but not to the Puritans' conviction; but Madame La Tour won their hearts and their help. She was obviously a sound Protestant, full of zeal; she set forth her husband's cause with unwearied eloquence and pertinacity, and vilified D'Aunay without stint. The latter was a dangerous neighbor to New England, and the Puritans decided not to forbid private parties' helping his rival at their own risk, though the colony officially washed its hands of the matter.

Captain Gibbons and a merchant named Thomas Hawkins fitted out for him four vessels with four to fourteen cannon each, they and La Tour jointly furnishing the crew; Hawkins was commander; the contract was signed for two months at £250 a month, secured by a mortgage of all La Tour's Acadian property; no commission was given to any officer, and there was to be no fighting except in self-defense against resistance from D'Aunay, *but* all plunder was to be shared on an agreed plan. In a word, a fight was almost certain and hopefully expected, and the colony would be responsible whether it commissioned the expedition or not.

1642

Conflict
of official
papersMadame
La Tour
wins over
PuritansUn-
official
help fur-
nished
La Tour

1642

Wrangle
in Massa-
chusetts
over
help to
La Tour

Opinions were sharply divided, and Winthrop was bitterly censured by letter and general talk. Endicott wrote to him that La Tour would be as dangerous a neighbor as D'Aunay if victorious, and was quite untrustworthy; and the two should be left to fight it out between themselves. Winthrop felt uneasy as to his own decision, and called another meeting of magistrates and clergy. There was acrid discussion whether helping papists was not strengthening popery, whether Christians could rightfully help idolaters, and whether anyway it was policy to meddle in others' quarrels, which Solomon said was "taking a dog by the ear"; others said that gratitude might wean the papists from their false faith, that we were bound to help even aliens in distress, as did Joshua and Jehoshaphat, and that if by aiding one side in this quarrel against the other we could weaken an enemy, it was a leading of Providence. The majority decided for Winthrop. Historians of course, as in all other cases, abuse the Massachusetts clergy; who, it is universally conceded, were incapable of any action or opinion not discreditable.

"Ipswich
letter"

The more the laymen *and* clergy thought it over, however, the less they liked the decision. Sir Richard Saltonstall, Simon Bradstreet, Nathaniel Wood, John Norton, and other prominent men joined in a letter to Winthrop known as the "Ipswich letter," arguing that the case was too dubious to act upon, that there was no call of charity to help La Tour, and there seemed a breach of international right; that a quarrel between two French

claimants was for France to settle, and if international interests were involved, for England and not the colony; that angering D'Aunay without crushing him was bad policy; and that "he that loses his life in an unnecessary quarrel dies the Devil's martyr." Winthrop resented this bitterly as sedition against his rightful authority, and replied with great sharpness.

1642-4

Win-
throp
and his
critics

But on July 14 the fleet sailed. It was too formidable to fight, and D'Aunay's vessels retired to Fort Royal without opposition. La Tour wanted the fleet to chase and attack them; Hawkins refused, but thirty Bostonians volunteered. D'Aunay's soldiers had fortified themselves in a mill; the New-Englanders drove them out with loss of life, burnt the mill, plundered a vessel of its cargo of furs, and returned. This was outright piracy, and justified Winthrop's opponents. D'Aunay, thus overmatched, went to France for reinforcements and fresh royal instructions. He seems to have got more of the latter than the former, and really was placed in no better position. The royal council again confirmed his authority and authorized him to arrest La Tour, confiscate his goods, and deport him to France—if he could; but he had that authority before, and was given no fresh forces to carry it out. He was told that La Tour had, however, and in the summer of 1644 again petitioned the men of Massachusetts for help.

New-Eng-
landers
wantonly
assail
D'AunayD'Aunay
rein-
forced
with
words
only

As this was not even a plausible case of charity, but openly to defend himself against a rival with

1644

New Eng-
land will
not help
La Tour
again

a royal commission, some new pretext had to be devised. From the result, we may infer that he asserted that D'Aunay intended to seize New England merchantmen in revenge for the attack of the year before; he and they were therefore in the same boat. Endicott was now governor; and La Tour made enough impression on that disapprover of any intercourse with the French Catholics so that he called a meeting of magistrates and clergy, to consult on the matter. But they had burnt their fingers the year before, and such a public storm could not be risked again. They refused to grant the request, but took the aggressive on possible recriminations by writing to D'Aunay complaining of the Penobscot seizure nine years before, and other wrongs, denying that the robbers of his pinnace and slayers of his men in 1643 held a public commission, and offering to do justice if they had wronged him, but warning him against aggressions on their shipping.

But
recrim-
inates on
D'Aunay

Who
sends
peace
envoy

D'Aunay was certainly angry; but he stood to lose more than to gain by a quarrel with the populous and not at all meek Puritan colony, which if provoked could easily crush him. Besides, he had been charged by the King not to do so,—it was in the heart of the English Civil War, and France wished all her strength for the possible need of taking a hand near home, without colonial distractions; and Louis justly said that the New-Englanders supposed La Tour to be a royal lieutenant-general. So D'Aunay sent one of his friars, M. Marie, early in October to make a treaty of peace

and alliance with Massachusetts. Marie showed the magistrates D'Aunay's credentials of authority; also the royal council's decree proclaiming La Tour a rebel, and ordering his apprehension and transport home with his wife, and the confiscation of his goods.

1644

There was no doubt now where the legitimacy lay; nor did the magistrates intend to contest it, but simply to relieve themselves from paying indemnity. They referred all definite action to the commissioners of the New England confederacy; but had Marie draw up a draft of the proposed treaty. As this was for direct alliance with D'Aunay to attack La Tour, however, they would not consent. They urged peace between the rivals: Marie replied that La Tour was a traitor and his wife was worse, being the mainspring of the rebellion, but that if La Tour would surrender, his life would be spared—if he resisted and were captured, he would lose his head. Finally, a provisional treaty of peace was agreed on, subject to ratification by the Confederacy and D'Aunay. It is interesting that despite the previous scruples about taking international affairs out of the home government's hands, the colony now coolly makes an international treaty without the least reference to it. It took only two days and a Sunday to transact this business, much to Marie's pleasure.

D'Aunay's
peace
envoy in
Boston

Pro-
visional
treaty

But meantime the "mainspring" had been there, and there was no peace or truce while she lived. Madame La Tour had gone to France in the *St. Clement* not long after the affray of the

Madame
La Tour

1643-4

Madame
La Tour
succors
her
husband

year before, and tried to reverse the council's decree against her husband; but D'Aunay's side held the guns. She was charged with being an accomplice of La Tour, and forbidden on pain of death to leave France; she defied the order, gained England, and contracted with an English shipmaster to land her at Fort St. Jean. He could not fulfill the bargain on account of D'Aunay's forces, and after long beating about, landed her at Boston; she sued him in the Massachusetts courts, received £2000 damages, hired three armed English vessels then in Boston harbor, and reached Fort St. Jean and her husband in safety, just before Marie came to Boston.

D'Aunay
tries to
seduce
La Tour's
men

D'Aunay was perplexed what to do: he was no Berserker, and shrank from the waste and bloodshed of a battle. Some time in midwinter he sent his lieutenant to the fort with two boats, and letters offering La Tour's soldiers pardon and full payment of back wages if they would submit to their rightful superior. But La Tour was not there. His wife on arrival had advised him to go to Boston, declare himself a Protestant, ask for a chaplain to give his men sermons in sound doctrine and a force to make himself master of Acadia, and agree to share the latter with them. He had done so; and his wife, left behind, had inspired most of the men with her spirit. They jeered and cursed; she broke into a fury "like one possessed with a devil," and so reviled the Catholic faith and the friars that the latter refused to remain, and started for Port Royal over the

La Tour's
high bid
for help

His wife
uncon-
querable

wintry Bay of Fundy in an old pinnace that was given them, along with eight zealous Catholic soldiers equally disgusted with the service of such profane heretics. 1644-5

It was a disastrous mistake to let them go. They were gladly welcomed by D'Aunay, and told him that La Tour had gone to Boston, and there were only forty-five men in the fort with his wife. The chance had come: D'Aunay put the entire male force of Port Royal aboard his largest armed ships, sailed across the bay, and again sent messengers to attempt bringing over more or all of La Tour's soldiers. All stood by Madame La Tour; but D'Aunay, still loth to shed blood, waited two months in hope of desertions. Then, joined by two other of his vessels, he decided on an attack. Just then appeared a small vessel sent by La Tour from Boston, with provisions and a letter promising his wife to rejoin her within a month or two. D'Aunay captured it and marooned the captain and crew, finally giving them an old sailboat to go home in. La Tour's cause ruined

He then invested the fort by land and sea, and on April 17, 1645, after a refusal to surrender garnished with defiant and profane insult, breached the walls and stormed it. The Amazonian commandress was the soul of a heroic resistance; but after a bloody combat with severe mutual loss of life, the fort was captured with the survivors of the garrison, including Madame La Tour with her little son. D'Aunay hanged most of the men "as an example to posterity," pardoned the rest, His fort stormed

1645-6

Death of
Madame
La Tour

buried the dead on the next day, and spent three weeks repairing the fort. Madame La Tour bribed an Indian to carry a letter to her husband; it was discovered and she was put in confinement. The baffled and prisoned lioness had a spirit to act, but not to endure: she raged herself sick, and died within three weeks after. The Catholic narrator says that she renounced her heresy before dying: we cannot check his report.

La Tour
again
helped

La Tour spent the winter with Samuel Maverick on Noddle's Island (East Boston), vainly soliciting further help; then went to Newfoundland to interest the old Huguenot David Kirke, now its governor, but was only lent a vessel to return to Boston. There some merchants, with curious folly now that D'Aunay was master and monopolist of Acadia, trusted La Tour with £400 worth of goods for Indian trade there; and with five New-Englanders besides his own men he set sail thither. On arrival off the deserted station at Cape Sable, the ungrateful scoundrel and his followers seized Kirke's vessel for themselves and marooned the New England crew, who after nearly starving and freezing for a fortnight, were fed by the Micmacs and given a boat in which they reached home. La Tour seems to have resumed Indian life as of old.

His
knaveryD'Aunay
vs.
Massa-
chusetts

The victorious D'Aunay had a fresh grievance against Massachusetts for again helping his rival to supplies, and they a much sorer one against him for seizing their vessel and misusing their citizens. There was recrimination anew by letter, and in

September 1646, D'Aunay again sent friar Marie to Boston, with D'Aunay's secretary and a third envoy. Winthrop was once more governor. They arrived on Sunday, and were lodged by Gibbons (now major), entertained by Winthrop, and from the next day provided with board at the inn. The commissioners of the Confederacy met on Tuesday; and for two days there was argument as to the colony's responsibility for the old outrage of the Port Royal mill and fur-boat. But D'Aunay wanted a formal acknowledgment of their trespass by a nominal gift, rather than material indemnity; and Winthrop settled this by the present of a handsome sedan, given him by a privateer who had captured it in the West Indies, on the way from the viceroy of Mexico to his sister. A treaty was made, and the envoys departed on September 28, after being supplied with mutton and sherry and mutual salutes being fired; but first compelled to lower the French flag flying at their mast-head, as foreign colors could not be displayed in the harbor.

1646-50

D'Aunay's final peace with Massachusetts

D'Aunay had now possession of the rival fort which had intercepted the best of the northern fur-trade, and made his venture unprofitable; his rival's unrivaled helper was dead, and the rival himself an outcast without coign of vantage to fight; and the King made the victor lord of all the lands from the St. Lawrence to Virginia, with full sovereignty under homage to the King, and a monopoly of the fur-trade which could now be enforced. But all this brilliant prospect came to

His monopoly valuable at last

1650
et seq.

Death of
D'Aunay

a sudden close. On May 24, 1650, D'Aunay and his valet were overset in a birch canoe, and he was chilled to death as he bestrode its inverted end, up to his shoulders in the icy water. The hope of a strong French Acadia perished with him.

La Tour
restored
to power

La Tour soon heard of it and hastened to France; and came back with a pardon which was genuine, and a document transferring all D'Aunay's honors and titles to himself, which was quite possibly forged. But beyond question, the King and the colonial department thought there was no further object in upholding the rights of a dead man, or punishing his rival for the rivalry, and also that it was best to put Acadia in charge of the only man of energy with exhaustive local knowledge; and the self-seekers transferred their services from the dead lion to the living dog. Unfortunately, all forgot D'Aunay's widow, with her ungrown four sons and four daughters; and left them to the mercies of a man with the heart and the honor of a pirate. But indeed he had peers enough to keep him in countenance.

Harpies
plunder
D'Au-
nay's
widow

D'Aunay's father, the children's guardian, was a doddering octogenarian. D'Aunay's agent, a Rochelle merchant named Le Borgne, worked upon the old man to sign an acknowledgment for his son's heirs of a debt (asserted by his biographers to be fictitious) of 260,000 livres; then went to Acadia and bullied the widow into another acknowledgment for 205,286 livres, and took possession of Port Royal as security. La Tour in his turn frightened the widow into giving him back

Fort St. Jean. The terrified woman, with ruin imminent, appealed to the Duc de Vendôme, chief of the marine department; he arranged a compromise with La Tour, but took no pains to hold him to it, and La Tour still fought her over the lands and fur trade. In utter desperation, for her children's sake (whose rights she tried to safeguard in the marriage contract) she married her persecutor and her husband's rancorous foe,¹ and went to live with him at Fort St. Jean. Her purpose was not secured: La Tour let the children's property be swept away, the boys were all killed in the wars and the girls all (or all but one) became nuns.

1653 (?)—
67D'Aun-
nay's
widow
marries
La TourTo no
purpose

Acadia went partly to Le Borgne through his claims, which were upheld by the courts—and it is fair to say that they knew more of their justice than we; partly to La Tour and his children by the new wife (there were none by the dead heroine, which is a pity—they would have made a name); and partly to the trader Nicolas Denys, along the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1654, during Cromwell's war with France, a former major-general of his, Major Robert Sedgwick of Charlestown, Massachusetts, invaded Acadia by his commission, captured all the French ports, and made it again an English possession; which it remained for thirteen years, till the treaty of Breda in 1667. La Tour as a British subject joined with Thomas Temple and William Crown

Acadia a
foot-ball

¹February 24, 1653, says one authority; others think it two or three years later.

La Tour
wins
future
as well as
present

in obtaining a new grant from Cromwell; but soon after sold his share to Temple. He is said to have died in 1666, when he must have been well over seventy. His descendants remain in Acadia; the gallant and chivalrous D'Aunay left none there or in France, though on side lines the blood still flows.

Final
fate of
Acadia

As to Acadia, it was captured once more by Sir William Phips in 1690; once more restored to France by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697; still again captured for England by Nicholson in 1710, during the War of the Spanish Succession, and has never since gone from under that crown.

Jean
Nicolet

Among the young men selected by Champlain for the planting of the Lilies of France among the Indian tribes of the West was a Norman, Jean Nicolet. In 1634 he was sent westward on an exploring expedition—to that West above which hung an unsubstantiated mass of tradition of Oriental ways and Oriental life. That he might not appear at a disadvantage among the noble Indians of that distant region, Nicolet took with him, as a ceremonial dress, a richly embroidered robe of Chinese brocade. He went up the Ottawa River to Lake Nipissing, and thence by the short portage and by the French River to Georgian Bay. From there the adventurers made their way to the Rapids of Saint Mary; thence to Lake Michigan and Green Bay. Here, in the presence of the Winnebagoes, the Chinese robe was donned and a great feast was held.

From Green Bay, Nicolet went up the Fox River, where he entered the country of the Mascoutins and heard of the great river to the west, in the Indian tongue the "Mississippi." Just what this body of water was he did not know, nor could he find out from the uncertain and inexact language of the Indians. For a time it was thought to be the South Sea, afterwards a river that emptied into the Gulf of California.

Nicolet
hears of
the Mis-
sissippi

Meanwhile the death of Champlain and the activity of the Jesuit missionaries further to the eastward stayed for a time the progress of western exploration. Gradually the movement began again; and in 1641 Father Jogues reached the outlet of Lake Superior, and undoubtedly would have made a further advance but for the terrible Huron war of 1649.

Jogues
reaches
Sault
Ste.
Marie

In 1651 Radisson and Groseilliers went westward to a forked stream, one branch of which ran west and the other south. Some three years later, the missionaries Menard and Allouez visited the shores of Lake Superior, where they heard again of the great water to the west.

Lake
Superior
visited

The work of exploration and conversion went hand in hand, and some of the most persistent pathfinders of the west were the missionaries most zealous for the spread of the Christian faith. The work of the missionary, however, was not necessarily the work of the colonist. To spread French domination and increase French trade were secondary objects; important, it is true, but not to be considered of great weight when they

Objects
of French
explora-
tion

1626-32

conflicted with the primary purpose of saving souls.

Jesuits
return to
Quebec

When the English evacuated Quebec in 1632, the Jesuits Le Jeune and Dé Nouë came with the returning French. On a point of land on the St. Charles were the two old buildings which were used as the first home of the mission. They were protected by palisades after the Indian fashion; and from this rude structure the indomitable missionary was sent to preach his faith to the Indians of the distant villages. This was the famous mission of Notre Dame des Anges, built about 1626.

Small be-
ginnings
of Canada

The first year was employed by the missionaries in learning the native language and in cultivating the soil for their own subsistence. There were only about forty Frenchmen to whom the priests might minister, but the number of natives was great indeed. From the mouth of the river to Quebec was virgin forest. The French had cleared no more than twenty acres, and the Indians of this region were not accustomed to tilling the soil. Father Lalemant, writing to his brother in August 1626, had told of savage tribes further up the river who raised corn to provide for their necessities in the winter. There were no priests among these Indians, however, and the traders going there missed confession for a year—having also frequent opportunities for sin. There is much doubt in the writer's mind whether these traders may conscientiously continue their occupation. The savages had no other thought than

Ocean of
savagery

to fill their stomachs. They knew not the meaning of cleanliness. They were cannibals also, and had famous death-feasts and competitive eating-parties.

1632
et seq.

The chief defect in the way of the spread of the Christian faith, however, was the lack of knowledge of the Indian language. Father Brébeuf, stronger than most of his companions, spent the winter among the Indians, and devoted the time to acquiring a mastery of the Indian dialects. After various unfortunate attempts, Father Le Jeune found an Indian interpreter to whom his native mistress had been unkind, and the military governor harsh, and who now sought consolation and the means of a livelihood with the good Father. He was joyfully received and presently installed as tutor. Often the native wearied of his task, but was prompted to more vigorous mental action by large gifts of tobacco. Le Jeune persisted in his attempts to learn the language and the ways of the savages, and finally gathered about him a score or more of Indian children, whom he instructed in the faith. Meanwhile the interpreter and tutor fell from grace; whereupon Father Le Jeune concluded he was not intended for salvation, but had been sent by Providence to teach him the language of the Indians.

Jesuit difficulties
in learning
Indian

Spread of
missions

Gradually the missions were extended, and the black-robed father became a regular member of the savage community, seeking to instill into his hearers first the principles of religion, and with them ideas of honesty, chastity, temperance, and

Slow
task of
civilizing
Indians

kindness. Every attempt possible was made to establish relations of permanent friendship with the savages, and after some changes in their habits of living, to introduce something of the customs of civilization. The extreme difficulty of the task the missionaries could not realize; yet even so they were not faint-hearted men, or they would have recoiled before the magnitude of the undertaking.

Depress-
ing con-
ditions

To appreciate the sacrifices of these men fully, one must remember that many were carefully nurtured, all were well educated, some had known the luxuries of life. They were going to the wilderness to reside in the midst of squalid filth and starvation, surrounded by the most terrible manifestations of the Devil's work in the excesses of Indian life, often forced to be unwilling spectators of scenes of savage cruelty, at which their hearts revolted; such surroundings they accepted cheerfully in order that the children of the wilderness, low in the deepest depths of sin, might be brought to a knowledge of the true faith.

Noble
sacrifices
of mis-
sionaries

For them there were none of the prizes of diplomacy or statesmanship, no high rank in the world of art or letters, no delightful personal surroundings of palace or court. Their shelter was a hut in the forest, where they were exposed to the bitter cold of winter, the heat of summer, perils of the trackless wilderness, with perhaps the tomahawk or stake to end it all. Yet they went forth courageously, hopefully even, to accomplish all that man might hope to do.

Far away to the west were the Hurons, among whom it was said the Devil especially delighted to dwell. Here then should be the location of their first mission.

The petty intrigues of Indian politics were at work, however, and it was a full year before the missionaries were allowed to begin their voyage to the Hurons. Then Fathers Brébeuf, Davost, and Daniel, upon whom the lot had fallen, began the toilsome journey by the river and over the rough portages, a distance of nearly a thousand miles. Finally the Indian town of Ihonatiria was reached, where Father Brébeuf was welcomed as one returned from the dead; and after a few days his assistants arrived, almost overcome by the dangers and hardships through which they had passed.

Jesuits
set out
for
Huron
town

Here after a time a house was built by them, which was the wonder of the country. It was divided into three parts: the first was an ante-room and place of storage for provisions, the second a living and work room, and the third a chapel. The savages never tired of examining the many things which the priests had brought. They delighted in turning a little hand-mill. They wondered at the clock, which they called the "Captain of the Day," would remain in the room for hours to hear it strike, and were particularly anxious to know what it said. Two hours were indelibly fixed upon their minds: at four the clock told them to go home, that it was time to shut the door; and the long-sounding strokes of

Curiosity
of
savages

twelve said that it was time to put on the kettle for dinner.

Dense
Huron
popu-
lation

The Huron country was small: it could be traversed in four days' journey. The population, however, was dense. Brébeuf estimated that there were about thirty thousand souls, living in twenty towns. The fathers did not find the Hurons as black as they had been painted. They have much to say in praise of their savage virtue. It was not long before the teaching of the missionaries was followed by satisfactory results, especially among the young. The first lessons were based upon the common Indian belief in the immortality of the soul: would they accept eternal paradise or everlasting hell? Some of the natives, however, believed in a special heaven for the Indian, and were not to be terrified by the dangers of Gehenna. There were many arguments as to the meaning of things. One man asked Father Brébeuf where God was before the creation of the world; a question which the good father was able to answer from his knowledge of St. Augustine, but he adds truthfully that this answer satisfied himself better than it did his savage auditors.

Teaching
them
religion

Second
Huron
mission

The next mission among the Hurons, after that of St. Joseph, was at the Indian town of Ossossane. Here was established the mission of the Immaculate Conception, the chapel of which contained all the pictorial aids to religion dear to the Indian and Jesuit hearts. One especially was a subject of constant admiration. It was of the

Last Judgment, with a full accompaniment of mediæval dragons and devils driving the unrepentant into the flames of hell. The pictures formed no inconsiderable part of the scheme of conversion, for visual representation of future punishment was an effective deterrent to Indian vices. One worthy father, whom Parkman mentions, asks that several Virgins be sent, and many pictures of Souls in Hell, but of Souls in Heaven he thinks one will be enough. The pictorial representation of scenes in paradise compared so little with the general scheme of Indian life, or the native idea of a happy hereafter, that the missionary was entirely justified in his choice.

Pictures
as
means
to con-
verting
Indians

Some of the dangers of these early missions are shown by the conditions during a plague among the Hurons. From the first the priests had been regarded as medicine-men, as magicians. If the crops failed or the weather was unfavorable, if game was lacking or the fishing not good, the blame fell upon the missionaries. In a certain sense they brought it on themselves: they took credit with their flocks for good weather and bountiful crops as due to their intercession with God, and why should the Indians not credit ill fortune to their neglect or malice as well as good to their zeal and beneficence? The influence of the Indian sorcerers or medicine-men was of course unfavorable, for their hold over the Indians was weakening and their impostures were exposed. When any great disaster occurred, the wrath of the tribes was aroused and vengeance

Mission-
aries held
to be
medicine
men

1637-40

upon the fathers was threatened. All of the little devices familiar to civilization but not to them were held as charms, and the uncomprehended as magic. In 1637 the priests narrowly escaped death by the fearlessness and vigor with which they repelled charges made against them.

Huron
missions
multi-
plied

Indian
suspicion
and
avoid-
ance

"Neu-
trals"
warned
against
them

About 1639 and 1640 the activity of the Jesuits was at its height. On the right bank of the little river Wye, which empties into Matchedash Bay, the central mission of Ste. Marie of the Hurons was founded. The Huron territory was divided into four districts for purposes of missionary visitation; below, the Tobacco Nation formed the fifth district. The duties in this last field fell to Father Garnier and Father Jogues, who visited nine villages, and counted this mission the richest of all, since "the crosses and sufferings had been most abundant." The first care of the fathers was to find out the sick who were in danger of death, that by baptism their souls might be saved. As they busied themselves in errands of mercy, the country became filled with evil reports concerning them. No houses were open in which mass might be said; women fled and hid their children. The savages hoped by ill treatment to force them to leave. There was not food enough for the natives, and the numbers of famine-stricken increased daily. Moreover, the Hurons themselves inflamed the minds of the Neutral Nation (Attiwandaronk) against the missionaries, so that oftentimes they were refused shelter and their lives were openly threatened. In the cases of the dying, the fathers

resorted to many devices to accomplish their purposes. Father Garnier, once refused admission to a lodge wherein was a sick child, finally forced his way in, and under pretense of feeling the veins in the child's forehead, managed unseen to perform the rites of baptism and open the doors of paradise to the soul.

1635-42

Schemes
for baptizing
Indians

From the time of the death of Champlain, in 1635, the influence of the Jesuits steadily increased. The new governor, Charles de Montmagny, was anxious to do the Church's bidding, and the eloquent reports of the missions sent home to France had aroused the interest of the people. Various institutions both of learning and charity were planned, donations of large sums were obtained for their support by popular subscription, and it seemed as though all of the hopes of the missionaries would be realized.

Jesuits
grow in
power

Meanwhile the "Hundred Associates" had been unsuccessful in their plans of colonization. The classes in France who were dissatisfied from religious causes, and who would have formed a safe basis of permanent colonization, were not allowed in Canada, which thus was deprived of the great motive that peopled New England. The company itself controlled trade, and hence there was little inducement to individual action. The colony was divided into two factions: the Company with its trade and traders, and the Church with its missions and charitable institutions.

Causes of
Canadian
weakness

In 1642 the "Society of Our Lady of Montreal" was formed, for the dissemination of the

1642-3

Montreal
to be a
religious
founda-
tion

true faith and the extension of the works of religion among the Indians. The site of Montreal (Hochelaga) had been noted before. It seemed to Champlain a proper place for the settlement. The original members of the society, six religious enthusiasts, proposed three forms of activity: an institution of priests to convert the Indians and confess the colonists, an association of nuns to care for the sick, and another to teach the children. The society by deed from Lauson, then president of the "Hundred Associates," acquired title to the land, which they strengthened by a quitclaim from the association itself. The little settlement was permitted to provide for its own government, but the privilege of the fur-trade was denied. As their governor they chose the *Sieur de Maisonneuve*, the ablest and wisest of their number. Forty men and four women composed the first colony. They reached Canada too late in the autumn to proceed to Montreal, and the first winter was spent in preparing boats and collecting supplies in order to form a settlement early in the spring.

Maison-
neuve
first
governor

Quebec
hinders
move-
ment

The colony of Quebec looked with jealousy upon this attempt, which threatened their own religious and civil supremacy, and used every endeavor to prevent the departure of *Maisonneuve* and his associates. They were urged to settle at Quebec, and many inducements were offered, but without effect. In the following May the intending colonists embarked on their perilous undertaking. On the 18th of that month the city of Montreal was

founded, with appropriate ceremonies and consecrated to pious uses. The further history of these missions, with its long story of heroic deeds of self-sacrifice rarely paralleled in human history, is beyond the limits of these pages. The Jesuits were good workers; they were educated men as well, —seeing all things through one medium, it is true, but consecrating their best efforts to the work which they had in hand. Their reports, fortunately, are now within the reach of all who care to make their history a further study.

1643

Founda-
tion of
Montreal

Just at the time when it seemed that partial success at least would attend the efforts of the missionaries, a new and terrible danger threatened from the south. The nations of the Long House (Iroquois), supplied with ammunition and arms by the Dutch traders of New Amsterdam, began to renew their attacks, hoping to destroy utterly the Hurons and Algonquins and their friends the French.

Iroquois
renew
war

Meanwhile Montreal had progressed slowly, but new colonists and new bequests gave something of added vigor and strength. For a time the little settlement was free from the Iroquois; but in 1643 a war party of the Five Nations set upon a detachment from the fort, killing half their number and making the other prisoners. For a time the commander, Maisonneuve, acted strictly upon the defensive; but finally, moved by the taunts of his men, he started from the fort to find the enemy. It was not long before the thirty Frenchmen composing the little company were

Montreal
band
assailed

1643-8
Iroquois
rout
Montreal
men

attacked by eighty Iroquois. They fought in the Indian fashion, from shelter, and they fought bravely; but the disparity in numbers was too great, and an orderly retreat became a rout, in which the commander himself narrowly escaped capture.

Fluctua-
tions of
peace
and war

About 1645 an uncertain peace was made with the Iroquois, on account of the action of the missionaries in preserving the lives and securing the release of some Iroquois prisoners. There was much speech-making and exchange of presents, after the Indian fashion; but the savage nature was too strong to yield at the first attempt. The Mohawks, with whom the peace had been made, were influenced against the French by the other tribes of the Five Nations, and then by some of the Huron prisoners, and soon renewed the attacks upon the white settlers. Father Jogues, who had undertaken again the ill-fated mission to the Iroquois, in addition to the persecution of his former attempt, was one of the first to fall a victim to savage fury.

Hurons
partly de-
stroyed
by
Iroquois

In 1648, while many of the Hurons were at Three Rivers, the Indians attacked the Huron mission of St. Joseph, where Father Daniel was resident missionary. The hour which was never absent from the dreams and hopes of the Jesuit—the hour of martyrdom—had come. The town was fired, and the bleeding body of the priest thrown into the flames of the burning chapel. The victorious Iroquois returned with hundreds of prisoners in their train.

From this crushing blow the Huron nation never recovered. In March 1649 a thousand warriors of the Five Nations fell upon the mission town of St. Ignace, and of the wretched Hurons all but three were killed or captured. These made their escape to the neighboring town of St. Louis, where they warned the inhabitants of the approach of the enemy. Many of the Hurons escaped from the village; but some of the warriors resolved to wait the enemy, and with them the Jesuit missionaries Lalemant and Brébeuf. After a fierce but unavailing defense the Iroquois broke through the weak palisades, and there captured the missionaries and the surviving Huron warriors.

1649

Second
Iroquois
massacre
of
Hurons

For two days all was terror at the remaining mission of Ste. Marie. The Iroquois warriors, however, met with a severe check from a Huron war party, and Ste. Marie was spared. Of St. Ignace the victorious savages made a vast funeral pile before they left, fastening their prisoners within the houses, to which they then applied the torch. A few days afterwards a party of French and Indians from Ste. Marie visited the ruined town, where they found the mangled bodies of Lalemant and Brébeuf. Both had been slowly tortured to death. Brébeuf's dauntless defiance incensed his foes into giving him the death-stroke after four and a half hours of revolting torments; Lalemant was kept alive in atrocious sufferings for seventeen.

Slight
check to
Iroquois

Martyr-
dom of
Brébeuf
and Lale-
mant

Shortly after this disaster the Hurons abandoned many of their towns. The fugitives were

1649-50

Huron
nation
dispersed

dispersed into whatever quarter seemed to afford the greatest security. The days of the Huron nation were over. There was now no reason for the Jesuits to continue the mission at Ste. Marie, where they would be exposed to constant attack, and moreover their flock was scattered to the winds. The Huron mission was given up. Of the remnants of the Hurons, some were received within the walls of Quebec; others fled to the forests, where they were in danger of perishing from want; while still others sought peace by adoption into the tribes of their conquerors.

Neutrals
and
Tobacco
Nation
de-
stroyed

The Iroquois then turned upon the four remaining tribes of its racial kin: first the Attiwandaronk or Neutral Nation, and the Tionnontates or Tobacco Nation, each of whom at a single blow they destroyed utterly as separate existences. The "nations" were only loose aggregations of families without national cohesion; and when the Iroquois war-bands poured in upon them and began an almost unresisted massacre, those who could escape fled in wild panic from their corn-fields and their hunting-woods, and dispersed far and wide—many to miserable deaths from hunger or the hatchet, some to be adopted and absorbed by other tribes.

Eries
follow

The Eries, however, were of very different mettle. They fought like tigers, and were only exterminated as a tribe after a fiercely contested campaign of several months, and one crowning battle so bloody and costly as to quiet the great League itself for a considerable time thereafter. Slowly crowded back, they finally, in the winter

of 1649-50, took refuge in their fort near Presqu'is-
 le on Lake Erie, the modern city of Erie. In
 the first attempt to storm it, the Iroquois were
 repulsed with heavy loss. Returning to the charge
 with their birch canoes in front of them for
 shields, they used them also for scaling ladders;
 and though thinned with arrows and hatchets as
 they climbed over the palisades, finally succeeded
 in jumping down into the fort in overwhelming
 numbers. Within it took place a fearful carnage:
 most of the Eries were slain, the remainder were
 adopted by their foes to reinforce their depleted
 ranks. The League had lost several hundred of
 its best warriors in the last two years, and even
 its savage delight in combat was cooled down for
 a while.

1649-75

Erie
 nation
 extermi-
 nated

A still harder conflict awaited it from the last
 of its kindred peoples, the Andastes or Susque-
 hannocks. As soon as it had recovered from the
 Erie campaign, it assailed that body, lying along
 the lower Susquehanna. But the tribe was as
 brave, as cool, and as coherent, as any of its own,
 though of less resources than the Confederacy;
 and only after twenty years of furious resistance
 was it gradually worn down to a small band, which
 even then did not scatter, but emigrated in a body
 to other fields in 1675.

Andastes
 nearly so

The Jesuits having failed, through no fault of
 their own, in their attempts to convert and civilize
 the Hurons, were now brought by the complica-
 tions of Indian warfare and the deep plans of
 Indian treachery to undertake a mission among

Jesuits
 try to
 convert
 Iroquois

1654-6 the dreaded Iroquois themselves. Father Le Moyne was sent to the Onondagas, reaching his destination in August 1654; there he was overjoyed to find many of the Huron converts, prisoners of the Iroquois, who had not forgotten the early teaching of the missionaries. After preliminary peace negotiations, he returned to Quebec, but on the way was captured by a party of Mohawks. This fact illustrates the difficulty of making peace with the Five Nations. Inter-tribal jealousy was strong, and the separate nations made war or peace at their own liking. The Mohawks persisted in their attacks until they were checked at Montreal, when they too consented to peace with the French, but reserved the right to continue their hostile attacks against the Indians who belonged to the French party.

Jesuits
plan for
Chris-
tianizing
Iroquois

Onon-
daga
mission It was clear from the first that the Onondagas had in mind something beside the pleasure of French society and the saving of their own souls; but what that was, the missionaries had no means of knowing. The Onondagas insisted that a mission should be established among them; and the governor of Canada, Lauson, knowing not what course to follow, finally consented to the departure of the missionaries and their attendants. In July 1656 the Onondaga town was reached, and the Frenchmen were welcomed with every outward evidence of delight. Just then a meeting of the chiefs of the Five Nations was taking place; before this body the Jesuits were brought, and delivered their first message to their new hearers. A small

chapel was built, which was christened St. Mary of the Onondagas, and active work began at once. It was not long before the missionaries penetrated the territory of the Senecas and Cayugas as well; but the Mohawks persisted in fierce raids on the French settlements, and aroused the Onondagas' wild jealousy to share the plunder and captives.

1656-8

Jesuits
plant
mission
at Onon-
daga

The Onondagas from the first had intended ultimately to massacre the entire French mission; a baptized convert when dying admitted that the object in soliciting it had been merely to use it as a decoy to draw the rest of the Christianized Hurons within their grasp and kill them, and then wipe out the French likewise, as soon as their hostages in French hands were released—probably by spring, 1658. They built their bark huts in front of the fortified mission-house, where the missionaries and their converts cowered in helpless terror waiting their doom, and watched them as a cat a mouse-hole, so that any attempt to escape would have brought the hatchet down on all their heads; though the perfidious Iroquois wore faces as impassive as masks, and smoked in apparent amity. Even could the victims have slipped out in the night unnoticed, they had not canoes to hold them, and on foot would speedily have been overtaken. To stay was death and to flee was death.

Indian
trap to
butcher
themSkillful
counter-
ruse

In this horrible dilemma the fathers rose to the occasion, and outwitted the Indian craft with deeper craft: they were not Jesuits for nothing. One of the religious ceremonies of the Indians—like many other religious rites, happily consonant

1658

Jesuits
induce
Indians
to hold
medicine
feast

with the enjoyment of the votaries—was to make a grand feast to the gods when it was desired to placate them, and to turn away their wrath from a threatened public or private calamity; on which occasions the guests were expected to eat to the utmost limit of capacity and endurance, and sometimes ruined their stomachs permanently thereby. It was also a religious obligation to put implicit faith in dreams. One of the Huron youths whom they intended shortly to murder was set on by the fathers to tell the Iroquois of a dream he had, that he was soon to die of a sickness unless a medicine-feast were made for him. Until they were ready to tomahawk or burn him, for which the time was not yet ripe, religion must be obeyed, and they were nothing loth. The feast was set (March 20), and each guest brought his wooden bowl to be filled from the huge kettles of stewed game and corn and beans, and they stuffed themselves full, and at the youth's entreaty yet again, till they could not stir; in their still agile intervals singing and dancing, noisily reinforced by the jubilant fathers, whose jubilation had a different cause from what the savages suspected.

Slip
away
from
death-
trap

During the days before, in the loft of the mission-house the mission carpenter had silently built two large light flatboats; and while the mob of savages were eating and howling and capering, some of the mission inmates softly carried the boats down to the water. When the Iroquois had sunk into a stupefied slumber, the entire body stole off to the canoes through a lightly falling

snow; and by the time their jailers had waked, far into the next day, were off down the Oswego River on their way to Lake Ontario. The snow had obliterated their tracks; the Indians knew that they had not boats to go by water, and the parties swiftly sent to scour the country after them, winged with the fury of balked and chagrined assassins, found no trace of them on land; and for a while the Iroquois actually believed that the white magicians with their Indian adepts had flown through the air by means of sorcery. Montreal was reached in safety; but the attempt to convert the Iroquois was abandoned in despair.

1658-60

Escape of
Onon-
daga
mission

The safety of the Canadian settlements, and the growth of both Quebec and Montreal, were seriously injured by rivalries between the two. Montreal was the seat of the Sisterhood of St. Joseph, and was held by the Sulpitians. The Jesuits, from their stronghold at Quebec, looked coldly on the work at Montreal. There was no place for rivals in their chosen field.

Rivalry
of Jesuits
and Sul-
pitians

There were now three established settlements, Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, each about ninety miles from the other, with a population of something less than three thousand. These feeble colonies the Iroquois threatened constantly with destruction. In 1660 (the year of the English Restoration) a plan was formed to capture Quebec, and then ascend the river to Three Rivers and Montreal. The Iroquois were known to have wintered in force upon the Ottawa, and the colonists blenched before an awful fate. They were saved,

Iroquois
plan in-
vasion in
force

1680

The
heroes of
the Long
Saut

however, by the heroic and remarkable exploit of Adam Daulac, Daulon, or Dollard and a handful of companions. This unsurpassed episode in the annals of human heroism¹ deserves some expansion, as showing what a tiny band of resolute souls can do against overwhelming odds: though losing their own lives, they so mishandled the enemy as to discourage them from assailing the larger but weaker mass of the colony, which might well have perished under the blow.

Daulac

His com-
panions

Daulac, sieur des Ormeaux, was commandant of the Montreal garrison; and asked the consent of Maisonneuve the governor to take a volunteer party and resist the Iroquois to the last gasp at the falls of the Ottawa, by which they were to descend for the assault of the town. There was little other hope; the savages might be led by such reckless daring to overestimate its fighting strength (as they were), and the party might escape: the governor would not say them nay. Daulac was twenty-five, and was said to be actuated partly by desire to atone for a discreditable affair in the past with a noble achievement; and for some time had been looking for the opportunity, and inciting the Montreal youth to join him when he found it. Sixteen of them—aged from twenty-one to thirty-one, only three over twenty-seven—now accepted the chance; with him pledged themselves to take no quarter, made their wills, confessed and received the sacraments, and set out.

¹ It has been enshrined by Mary Hartwell Catherwood in a fine novel, *The Romance of Dollard*.

Daulac would not accede to the suggestion of leading men to wait till the spring planting was over and take them too, as it would deprive him of the command.

1660

About the first of May the party reached the impassable rocky rapid called the Long Saut, and took possession of a somewhat broken-down palisade, built the fall before by an Indian war party in the forest not far from the river; curiously, they did not repair it till the enemy was actually in conflict with them, and they made their camp and cooking fires outside on the river bank. Here they were shortly joined by a party of four Algonquins and forty Hurons, including the chief of each; the Huron being Annahotaha, the most noted leader of the fragment which at Quebec had escaped the hatchets and torture-fires of the Iroquois. These Indians had set out for Montreal to seek some heroic adventure, had heard there of the departure of Daulac and his band ("the principal fault of our Frenchmen," says Dollier de Casson, "is to talk too much"), and determined to join them; Maisonneuve gave the chief a letter to Daulac telling him to receive or reject the band at will. They were received, and though lacking the ultimate nerve of the French, made the result of their defense in saving the colony possible, by prolonging it and increasing the loss of the Iroquois.

Daulac's
party
reach the
Long
Saut

Joined by
Indians

A day or two later the scouts reported two Iroquois canoes descending the Saut; Daulac planted an ambush at the likeliest landing-place,

1660

First
skirmish
at Long
Saut

who fired at the five inmates when they landed, with such blundering hurry that part of them escaped and warned the two hundred others coming down the river. These hastened forward in their canoes; the sixty-one allies fled from their camp without time even to rescue their cooking kettles, and were at once assailed in the fort by the Iroquois, but repulsed them. The latter then tried to steal a surprise during a parley; failing, they built a palisade of their own near by. Meantime the allies did what they should have done first,—strengthened their fort with an inner row of stakes, filling in the space between the two lines of palisade with earth and stones man-high, with twenty loopholes, each for three marksmen. While this work was going on the Iroquois three times hurled their entire numbers against the fort, bearing the blazing fragments of the Frenchmen's birch canoes to fire the palisades; three times they recoiled with the ground strewn with their dead—one of them the principal chief of the Senecas, whose head a sallying party of French chopped off under cover of a fire from within, and fixed on one of the palisade stakes.

Iroquois
repulsed
before
fort

Send for
rein-
force-
ments

Sixty in a fort, even a poor one, had overmatched two hundred outside it. Frantic with rage, the Iroquois sent off messengers in a canoe to summon five hundred others whom they had started to join at the mouth of the Richelieu, the outlet of Lake Champlain, for the grand assault on Quebec. But meantime they stole as close to the fort as "cover" would admit, and relieving

each other frequently, kept the little garrison awake and alert by day and night for five days, by firing or making as if to assault, till the prisoned inmates were half dead with fatigue and hunger and thirst. They had no well inside, and could reach the river only at long intervals with small vessels, and protected by a sharp fire; it was not enough, and choking with thirst they could not eat their only food, coarse crushed Indian corn, till at last they scooped a hole down to a little ooze of water.

1660

Suffer-
ings of
garrison
at Long
Saut fort

And now the Hurons' spirit gave way: they were not fighting for country or faith. Brethren of theirs among the Iroquois, adopted into that nation, told them that an overwhelming Iroquois army would shortly arrive, and if they wished to escape the stake they must come over and join the besiegers. Every Huron but the chief Annahotaha yielded, jumped the palisades, and ran to the enemy; even the chief's nephew, at whom the stern old warrior fired his pistol in fury. The Algonquins were doomed in any case, and remained steadfast.

Hurons
desert

On the fifth day the great Iroquois reinforcement came, and with yells and screeches the body of six to seven hundred advanced to the attack, firing behind cover while it lasted; but the twenty-one defenders left met them with such a steady rain of bullets, and such murderous discharges from some wide-mouthed musketoon stuffed with leaden slugs and scrap iron, cutting down a number at a fire, that the daunted assailants fell back

Great
Iroquois
force
repulsed

once more. For three days longer did this huge
 1660 Indian mob, thirty times the number of those in
 the fort, fumble about it in petty assaults of a
 few at a time, dreading the concentrated fire on
 their large masses; and still the worn-out, dizzy,
 staggering heroes fought on, with honor, country,
 and the cross and crown of Christ floating before
 their swimming eyes as a standard.

Heroism
 of French
 at Long
 Saut

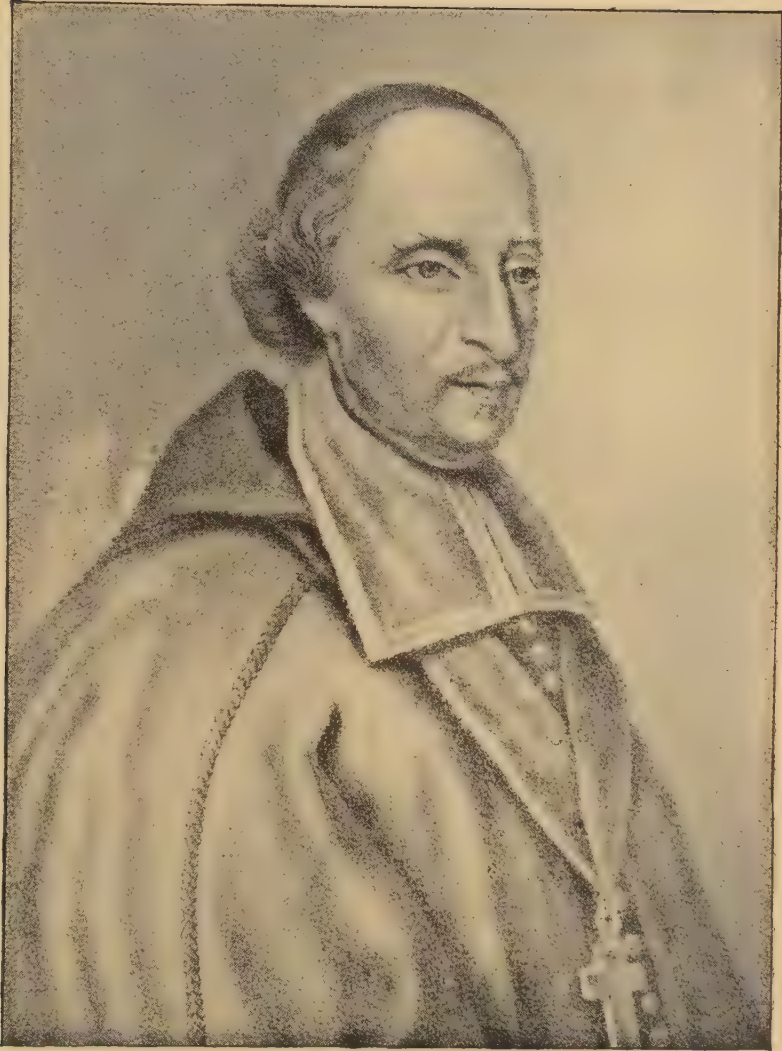
Final
 Iroquois
 assault

Severe
 French
 disaster

Fort
 breached,
 Daulac
 killed

The Iroquois with Indian fickleness began to
 talk of going home. But the leaders would not
 be so shamefully baffled and humiliated. An as-
 sault in force, led by a forlorn hope of volun-
 teers, was called for; and behind shields each of
 three split logs lashed together, they advanced to
 the palisade under the still powerful French fire,
 and began cutting through the stakes with their
 hatchets, while the rest of the army, emboldened,
 joined in the effort. Daulac loaded a heavy mus-
 ketoon to the muzzle, and tried to throw it over
 the top as a hand grenade; it struck one of the
 palisades, fell back, and burst inside, killing,
 maiming, and blinding a number of the defenders.
 The emptied loopholes were instantly occupied
 by the Iroquois, who fired in upon the still re-
 maining defenders; almost at the same moment
 a breach was made in the earthwork wall, and the
 inmates flocked to its defense. Shortly it was
 followed by a second and a third, and the foes
 burst in.

Daulac, fighting to the last, was struck dead.
 But sudden death was better than the hideous
 torture that awaited all who were captured,—the



LAVAL, ARCHBISHOP OF CANADA.

admiration for a brave foe that prompts to sparing him is apart from Indian ideas, and the sweetest hope of the Iroquois had been to take the besiegers alive and see them writhing and screaming in fiendish torments; and with sword and knife and hatchet the survivors fought in the swarming crowd of devils till the Iroquois, baffled even in this last whelming triumph, shot them down in despair of capturing them. But among those who strewed the ground were a few mortally wounded but not quite dead, and those were at once burned to death to secure what enjoyment was to be had; another, though helpless, had a prospect of life in him, and was carefully nursed for a festive occasion. Most of the Huron deserters met a righteous retribution: the treacherous Iroquois burned all but five of them, who escaped. But their heavy loss in killing seventeen of the Montreal French cowed the victors at the prospect of the hundreds remaining; they withdrew to their own territory, and Canada was saved.

Meanwhile the Sulpitians were trying to dominate the forces of the Church in Canada by Episcopal control, derived from the Archbishop of Rouen. To offset this attempt the Jesuits obtained the appointment in 1659, as Apostolic Vicar, of the Abbé de Montigny, Francois Xavier Laval-Montmorency, the titular Bishop of Petrea. Right stoutly did the new bishop maintain his dignity, and the unity of the church over which he was set to rule. The Sulpitians, who were disposed to resist him, were deprived of their leader and

1660

End of
the Long
Saut
martyrs

Assault
on colony
abandoned

Jesuit-
Sul-
pitian
quarrel

1659-60 forced to submit. Laval believed firmly that it was his duty and the duty of the Church to correct and amend the evils of the state. His was an imperious nature, though it was not himself but the Church and her prerogatives which he sought to exalt by exalting her representatives.

Church vs. governor Under such conditions minor difficulties produced serious quarrels. To whom should honors of precedence be given? The head of the Church or the governor of the colony? How far should the officials of the colony be allowed to suggest church government? In Laval's mind there could be but one answer to this question. The servant of God was as far above the servant of earthly kings as the kingdom of God was above mundane powers and realms.

Laval vs. Argenson Relations between Laval and Argenson the governor soon became unfriendly. For a time peace was kept between the two, though with difficulty; but Argenson was eventually recalled, apparently as much to his own satisfaction as to that of Laval. With his successor there was more serious difficulty over the sale of liquor to the Indians, a traffic which was fast completing the work of depopulation begun by famine and the Iroquois. Laval went to France to complain of the conduct of the governor, whose recall he obtained. The chief object of his visit, however, was to secure changes by which his own power might be increased in civil affairs. In this he was to some extent successful. All powers of government were vested in a governor, five councillors,

and Laval, with an attorney-general and secretary to be chosen by Laval and the governor. Moreover, the choice of the new head of the colony was given to the bishop, who selected one Saffray de Mézy of the town of Caen. The bishop's appointee soon found that he was expected to do nothing without the bishop's advice. Complaints against the rigid control exercised by the Church were many. The governor, good churchman though he was, found it impossible not to oppose the bishop in many of his acts. Good order and government seemed at a standstill, when death came to the governor's relief; but not before he had made peace with the bishop and received a blessing at his hands.

1660-74

Laval
against
Mézy

In 1661 the youthful Louis XIV. became of age, and took all things pertaining to France into his personal supervision. He was attentive to the colonies, so far as his many-sided activity would permit; and it may be said that his care was so persistent, systematic, and parental in its character that it hindered rather than developed the new country.

Louis
XIV.

Three years later the Company of the West Indies was organized by Colbert, and for ten years thereafter controlled the destinies of the new settlements. In 1665 the Marquis de Tracy was sent out as viceroy of all New France; De Courcelle as governor of Canada; and Jean Baptiste Talon as Intendant, or superintendent of police, justice, and finance. With them came two thousand settlers, and twelve hundred soldiers of the regiment

Tracy,
Cour-
celle,
Talon

1665-7

of Carignan; soldiers who had seen long and hard service, and who were expected to stop the devastating inroads of the Iroquois.

Courcelle's
great in-
vasion of
Iroquois
country

Talon planned the exploration and occupation of the West, and even meditated descents upon the Spanish territories from these western outposts. De Courcelle in 1666 set on foot an invasion of the Iroquois territory, which was carried out with success as far as Schenectady; but the French retired as soon as they learned that the English had gained possession of the Dutch province of New Netherland. The following autumn another expedition, consisting of six hundred French infantry, penetrated into the very heart of the Iroquois country, inflicting such losses and spreading terror so successfully that the Five Nations were checked for two decades.

French
trade
routes

The territory now controlled by France stretched from the St. Lawrence to the western shore of Lake Michigan, a distance of one thousand miles. The success of French trade depended upon the good-will of the Indians; to secure this, it was necessary to have the co-operation of the Algonquin tribes north of Lakes Ontario and Erie; and to avoid the active warriors of the Long House, the Ottawa-Nipissing trade route was the only one available. Thus it happened that the Frenchmen knew Lake Huron in its northern waters, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior, while Lake Erie was comparatively unknown.

After the great success of the Marquis de Tracy against the Iroquois, he returned to France,



TALON, INTENDANT OF CANADA.

leaving the forces in the hands of De Courcelle and Talon. To the latter the province was indebted for the policy under which it prospered to some extent, in spite of the fetters of monopoly fastened upon it by the company.

1665
et seq.

Talon's
policy

Extraordinary efforts were made by the King to furnish colonists for the province. Not only was the full number of promised settlers sent, but realizing the necessity of establishing homes in the New World, nearly a thousand young women from first to last were transported as wives for the colonists. On this there are many caustic comments from such cynics as La Hontan, and from the deeply religious sisters of Quebec; but there is no more reason to doubt the virtue of the mass than of the Virginia maids thus sent. Not many loose girls slipped through, and these were sent back. Talon interested himself in the character of the brides. To aristocrats he had deep-seated objections. His preference was for strong, healthy peasant women of good personal appearance, accustomed to work and free from aristocratic ideas. When the young women reached the province, they were placed in the hands of the willing and diligent sisterhood, where all possible effort was made to give in heroic doses that instruction which their home training had sometimes sorely lacked. Every effort was made to discourage the unmarried state by way of discriminations and taxes. Early marriages were rewarded by bounties, three hundred livres (equal to some \$200 now) were paid to the parents of ten children,

The wife
market

Training
of the
brides

Breeding
children
by tax-
ation

1665
et seq.

and the fortunate parents of twelve received an annual annuity of four hundred. Population increased at a remarkable rate for a time, to the great satisfaction of Talon.

Feudal
land
tenures

The method of landholding varied in different parts of the colony. Along the river near Montreal, lands were granted out upon the old feudal tenure of defense; and manors were given to the retired officers of the regiment of Carignan, who in turn granted smaller holdings to the men who had served under them. As in feudal times, each manor contained within itself all the necessities of a humble civilization. The dwelling of its lord, a chapel, fort, and mill, formed the nucleus of the little settlement. As with the patroons of New Netherland, a water-front was a necessity both for subsistence and transportation; hence the French plantations formed a fringe along the rivers, not easily protected from inroads of the savages.

Local
govern-
ment

The government of the provinces was vested in the governor, intendant, and Council, all subject to the will of the King, as expressed in definite letters of instruction. Of the Council, the bishop next to the governor was the most important member. Indeed, the governor, intendant, and bishop formed a triumvirate, with power limited only by the jealousies and petty quarrels which existed almost constantly among them;—quarrels inevitable at best, from the impossibility of drawing a line between their functions, but deliberately encouraged by the home government that they might act as checks and spies on each other, to prevent

Set at
odds by
home
govern-
ment

an irresponsible satrapy growing up too far off to control.

1665-71

It was not long before the French population of the new territory began to separate into its distinct classes, whose rivalries and opposition led to such unfortunate results both to colonization and exploration. In the east, along the St. Lawrence and in Acadia and Nova Scotia, the people were for the most part quiet agriculturists. The other class, adventurers for the most part, criminals or ne'er-do-weels, sometimes following the fur trade, living among the Indians, taking in marriage—temporarily—the Indian women, prospered by the brandy trade with the savages, and became, except for fiendish cruelty in war, as wild as the savages themselves. This distinct type, picturesque and interesting, still survives in the half-breed guides of our summer camps and winter hunting-parties, and the *habitans* of the Canadian Northwest. The charms of this free ungoverned life seduced the rising generation of young men from stable industry, and contributed not a little to the blighting of the French plans. But it was those very plans, or the methods implicit in them, which created these bush-rangers: youth of spirit would not remain drudging peasant tenantry of feudal lords, without right of speech or meeting, and dominated by meddling priests. Feudalism, paternalism, monopoly, and clericalism killed New France.

The
"cou-
reurs du
bois"

Bred by
govern-
mental
condi-
tions

In 1671, by Talon's direction, a formal claim to the Northwest was made in a solemn ceremony

1671, etc

French
formal
claim to
North-
west

at the falls of Ste. Marie. The meeting with the Indians lasted for several weeks, and was enlivened by every sort of entertainment that Indian and French ingenuity could invent. A cross was planted and a post near by adorned with the arms of France. An oration by Father Allouez, in praise of the greatness of the French monarch and nation, completed the ceremony.

La Salle

Meanwhile, the man to whom French exploration and French claims owe their greatest debt was in training for his great work. Robert Cavellier, Sieur de La Salle, was born in a house hard by the Rouen cathedral, in 1643. Educated by the Jesuits, he was early distinguished by proficiency in his studies, and was noted for his reserved demeanor and a will that brooked no opposition; he was *not* an altruist nor a zealot.

Comes to
Canada

La Salle's brother Jean was a priest in Canada; and it may well be that his descriptions of the New World, sent home to his many kinsfolk, first fired the heart of the scholar of Rouen with the desire to visit and explore these distant wilds. Hither the youth came in 1666, and received a grant of La Chine manor, near the St. Lawrence rapids so named; where he remained about three years, engaged in the study of the Indian dialects, and from wandering Indian tribes hearing of the Ohio. He sought and obtained permission from Talon and De Courcelle to visit the Senecas, and obtain more definite information of the extent and direction of the river. At the same time the Sulpitians were planning a journey to the Northwest



ROBERT CAVELIER DE LA SALLE.

(By permission of the Chicago Historical Society.)

for the conversion of some of the benighted natives of that region.

1669-71

The two expeditions started together; an omen of ill success. They visited one of the Seneca villages, where they met with discouragement and positive threats. Then, changing their route, they crossed the Niagara at Queenstown, and were probably the first Europeans to be within hearing of the unceasing voice of the mighty cataract. At an Indian village, near the present site of Hamilton, Ontario, as they were about to set out on their voyage, Louis Joliet arrived from a visit he had made at the request of Talon for the discovery of the copper mines of Lake Superior, famous among the savages of the North. Joliet did not find the copper; but he had learned that the Pottawattomies, the most debased Indian tribe yet found, were in sore need of conversion and reformation. The opportunity was too great for the Sulpitians to neglect: they decided to go at once on a missionary tour thither, leaving La Salle to fare as best he might in his quest for the Ohio.

La
Salle's
first ex-
pedition

La Salle's subsequent movements are uncertain. Probably he descended the Ohio as far as Louisville, reaching the river by way of Lake Chautauqua and the Alleghany River. The following year he seems to have passed through the Detroit River and Lake Huron, thence to Lake Michigan and by the Chicago portage to the Illinois. It is possible, but not substantiated, that he reached the Mississippi on one or both of these expeditions.

His
second

1672-5

Joliet
and Mar-
quette
go down
the Mis-
sissippi

Meanwhile, Talon and De Courcelle had been recalled, and Louis de Buade, the Count of Frontenac, became governor of New France in 1672; but the change made no difference in the plans Talon had formed for further exploration. Joliet and Marquette, starting from Green Bay in 1673 with five companions, ascended the Fox River to Lake Winnebago, and thence by portage to the Wisconsin. On the 17th of June they reached the Mississippi, and for two weeks found no sign of human habitation as they floated down with the current. At Peoria they were feasted by the Indians, who tried to turn them from their purpose by tales of the fierceness of the savage tribes below. This common Indian trick had no effect on the explorers, who continued their journey to the Arkansas country, where they were convinced that the river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico; but, alarmed by the threatening attitude of the Indians and the great distance from home, decided to return.

Return
to Green
Bay

Two months from the day they left Green Bay they turned the bows of their canoes northward, and began the toilsome and dangerous task of paddling against the current of the unknown river. When the mouth of the Illinois was reached, they ascended that stream to Lake Michigan and thence went on to Green Bay, where their long journey of twenty-five hundred miles was ended the last of September. Marquette's health was seriously impaired by his hardships. For more than a year he lay sick at Green Bay; but upon his recovery set about the founding of his new mission to the



FATHER MARQUETTE.

Illinois,—the Immaculate Conception. Soon afterward his health gave way completely, and he died in 1675 on the way to Michillimacinac. 1675

Meanwhile Joliet had journeyed toward Quebec to make his official report of the voyage; within sight of it his canoe was overturned and all his papers were lost. The success of the expedition, however, gave a great impetus to the development of the empire of New France. Three things especially the French government was eager for doing: the fur-trade was to be extended, French colonization to be increased, and the Indian tribes were to be converted to the true faith and French interests. Into the first two—he was fortune-hunter and glory-seeker, not crusader—La Salle entered with characteristic vigor; but many things stood in the way of the speedy success expected.

Results
of Joliet
and Mar-
quette's
expe-
dition

In the first place, the nations of Europe were not over-supplied with population. They were willing to send out the criminal and dependent classes, the floating population of the larger cities; but these are not the material of which permanent colonies are formed. There was a general fear of depopulation, and of reducing the supply of recruits necessary for military service. Again, colonization is at best a work of time, and was doubly so in those days of limited and slow transportation. Then, neither the French government nor La Salle had the money necessary to carry out their respective plans. Moreover, La Salle was in ill favor with the Jesuits; and finally and chiefly, the government refused to let those go

Why
Canada
was
slack in
growth

1665-79 who would have settled it richly with scarcely any expense—the Huguenots.

Fort
Fronte-
nac built

La Salle
builds
the
Griffin

Which
is lost

Tracy on his arrival had cowed the Long House into something like decent conduct. Frontenac, to secure their good behavior in the future, established in 1674 a fort called by his name on the present site of Kingston, Ontario. This was granted the next year to La Salle, he in return to rebuild and enlarge it. In order to accomplish this, La Salle had mortgaged his property and borrowed to the limit of his credit. These loans he expected to repay from the profits of the fur-trade; but in order to conduct this more profitably and advantageously, and complete his explorations under favorable conditions, it was necessary to have some vessel other than the Indian canoes. Upon the Niagara River, above the falls, La Salle now constructed in 1678-9 a little schooner of some forty-five tons, which he called the *Griffin*.

In this vessel La Salle and his companions reached the southern end of Lake Michigan; and a cargo of furs was taken on board, the sale of which would appease his most insistent creditors. About half the members of the expedition were sent back with the *Griffin*, while La Salle and his faithful Italian friend Henri de Tonty pushed on into the Illinois country, where Fort Crèvecoeur (Heartbreak) was built, near the present town of Ottawa, Illinois. Nothing was heard of the *Griffin* from the time she weighed anchor in Green Bay. Whether the little vessel foundered in a gale, or her cargo was sold by the sailors and the vessel

either destroyed or left to the mercy of the waves, will probably never be determined.

1680

La Salle's plans could not now be carried out without further assistance. Leaving Tonty at Crèvecoeur, La Salle with five companions started on foot on the long journey of one thousand miles to Montreal. All but the leader were exhausted when they gained the little blockhouse on the Niagara River above the falls. Here the indomitable explorer learned of the most serious misfortune which had yet befallen him. A vessel bringing supplies to the value of \$30,000 was wrecked at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Disheartened and discouraged but not overcome, La Salle pushed on to Montreal, where he collected supplies and reinforcements; and had returned to Fort Frontenac, when word was brought that Tonty's men had mutinied, destroyed Fort Crèvecoeur, and started to Montreal on foot. It is some satisfaction to know that La Salle intercepted them on their return, and turned them over to the governor for punishment according to their misdeeds.

La
Salle's
mis-
fortunes

Mutiny of
Tonty's
men

Meanwhile, the warriors of the Long House had engaged in one of their predatory raids, by which they spread the terror of their name among the other Indian tribes. In the summer of 1680 the great village of the Illinois was attacked and destroyed. Tonty, and the few faithful Frenchmen who had remained with him after the mutiny, escaped and made their way to Green Bay. The rest of this year was spent in uniting the western Algonquins into a firm league against the

Iroquois
crush the
Illinois

1680-7 Iroquois; and in May La Salle started again for Montreal, meeting Tonty at Michillimacinac.

La Salle
discovers
mouth of
Mississippi

The next venture of La Salle was crowned with success; a reward—if somewhat incomplete—for the many failures which had been his former portion. Leaving Montreal in the autumn of 1681, La Salle went by the lakes to the Chicago portage, thence to the Illinois, and finally out into the broad waters of the Mississippi. On the 9th of October, 1682, the Lilies of France were planted at the river's mouth, and possession of the valley drained by the great river and its tributaries was claimed for the king of France. On his return La Salle established Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, which Tonty was to command; while the explorer himself went to France, to plan the founding of a town at the mouth of the Mississippi.

Wreck of
last ex-
pedition

La Salle's reception was favorable; public interest was aroused in the plan he proposed, and an expedition sent out, which came to naught by the lack of knowledge of the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the quarrels of the commanders. The vessels missed the mouth of the Mississippi, and some of them were shipwrecked on the coast of Texas. After two years of great hardship, La Salle attempted to make his way on foot to the Mississippi, and thence to Tonty's fort on the Illinois; but while near the Trinity River he was shot and killed by some of his own men. Thus ended for a time the dream of a world empire; a dream too vast to be fulfilled by the men or natives of that day, and which the political and religious

La Salle
mur-
dered,
March 19,
1687

system of the France of Louis XIV. could never have realized, but destined to be more than realized in another time and under another flag. 1685-7

After the death of La Salle, all was confusion and disorder in the party which he had led. Some of them proposed to carry out La Salle's plan, to reach the Mississippi and ascend the river to Fort St. Louis of the Illinois. Before anything was determined, quarrels broke out among them, and the men chiefly responsible for the death of La Salle became in turn the victims of the assassin. Most of the others then continued their journey, and in about two months reached the Arkansas River near its mouth. Here they were overjoyed to find two of Tonty's men, who had formed a part of the relief expedition sent out in search of La Salle and his party. La Salle's party after his murder

Tonty in 1685 had gone to Mackinac seeking news of La Salle, and there had learned of his first reverses on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. He went back immediately to the Illinois, and in February 1686 started with a company of twenty-five Frenchmen and a number of Indians for the mouth of the great river. While La Salle was seeking a way from the prairies of Texas to the Mississippi, Tonty was pursuing his unsuccessful quest for his old commander. Some of Tonty's men were left near the Arkansas villages, and they welcomed the survivors of the La Salle party. Tonty's quest for La Salle

About the first of August they sailed down the Arkansas to the Mississippi; somewhat more than a month later they entered the Illinois, and were

1686-
1712

soon afterward in safety at the fort. The death of La Salle was carefully concealed, and some time afterward the survivors of his expedition made their way to Canada, and thence to France.

Fate of
La
Salle's
men left
in Texas

Meanwhile, Tonty attempted the rescue of the French left in Fort St. Louis of Texas, somewhat above the head of Matagorda Bay. On the expedition, however, many of his companions deserted him, and he was forced to give up the search. Spain was more diligent in her efforts to find and cut off the intruders than the King of France was in sending them aid. In 1689 the Spanish reached the fort, only to find it in ruins and no signs of white inhabitants. Later it was learned that most of the people had been killed by the Indians, and others had been absorbed into the Indian tribes.

Louisiana
settled

It was not until 1698 that the French government again took up the project of the southern colony, which had been abandoned after the death of La Salle. Two brothers of Norman blood but Canadian birth, Sieurs de Bienville and Iberville, were the promoters of the enterprise. A beginning was made by building a fort about fifty miles from the mouth of the Mississippi, and another at Biloxi, where the French touched the borders of the Spanish claims.

Unpros-
perous

The colony did not prosper, however, and in 1712 the proprietary form was tried with little better results. The importance of the Mississippi Valley was conceded, and the necessity for its occupation apparent. La Salle and Frontenac had not underestimated the advantages consequent



LE MOYNE D'IBERVILLE.

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upon a flourishing colony, nor the difficulties of its establishment; but whether royal or proprietary, the feudal system took all the heart out of colonists as its attempts ruined the first English colonies, and paternalism and monopoly completed the failure.

Louisiana's difficulties

After the failure of the proprietary plan, a new "Company of the West" was formed, with the immense capital (for that day) of one hundred million livres. Moreover, the bank of John Law, that most successful of early promoters, undertook to finance the scheme. As a result, companies and individuals hastened to invest; the stock became inflated beyond all possibility of redemption; France was speculation mad, and when the crash came the fortunes of Louisiana were among the ruins. For a time, however, the company made honest efforts to develop the territory; but they failed to profit by the experience of their predecessors, and unwise commercial investments prevented the colony from growth. In 1732 Louisiana became a Crown colony, export and import duties were removed, trade revived, and the definite improvement of the colony began.

John Law's Mississippi Bubble

Louisiana's first improvement

Meanwhile, affairs in Canada progressed but slowly. In 1703 the number of councillors was increased to twelve, and this body began to take a more important part in the government of the colony. Of the officers, the Intendant exercised the greatest influence. His control extended to the most minute affairs of daily life. The number and kind of cattle to be kept by the farmer, the

Change in Canadian government

Canadian
intendants'
minute
duties

limitation or extension of the trades, punishment for violation of the rules of the church, regulations of dress and even of manners, formed a part of his functions; he even had to report to the home government the number of *probable* births during the next year!

Causes of
Canadian
slack-
ness

If we add to this the arbitrary control of commerce, the effect of monopoly, and the discouragement of all initiative by the church for fear of weakening its control, it is small wonder that the colony was threatened with extinction by reason of the excessive attention it received. There was also a lack of industry and thrift, because the feudal peasantry were working for their lords' profit and not their own. Agriculture was of the simplest form, production was limited, and want was not uncommon. Attempts at manufacturing were in general failures, because of the many restrictions upon shipments and markets.

Improved
con-
ditions

About the beginning of the eighteenth century the condition of the colony began to improve, the population increased in numbers, better methods of cultivation were adopted, the wealth of the inhabitants increased, the fur-trade ceased to be the sole resource of the colony, there was less danger from Indian forays, frontiers were extended, and New France prepared to enter upon that contest which, primarily through the faults of her own system, was to end in English supremacy. But that system had its most fatal result in preventing the growth of any very considerable population even in its best settled parts.



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